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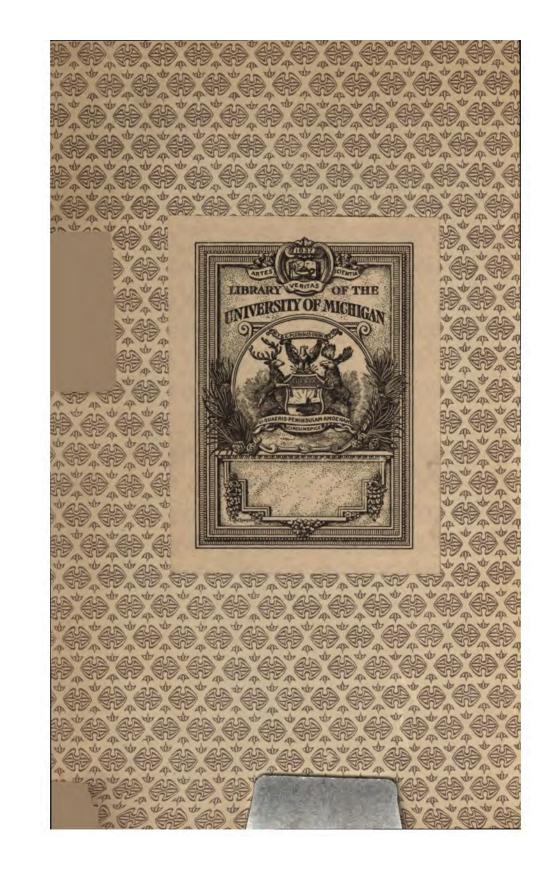
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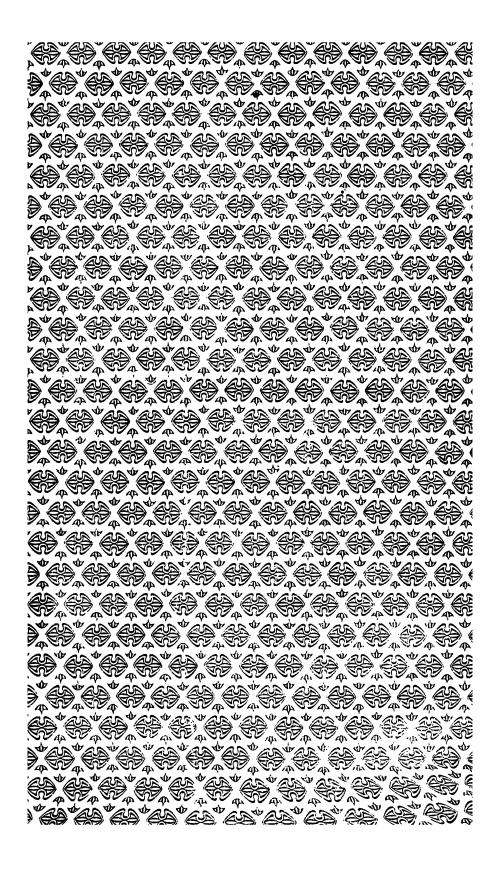
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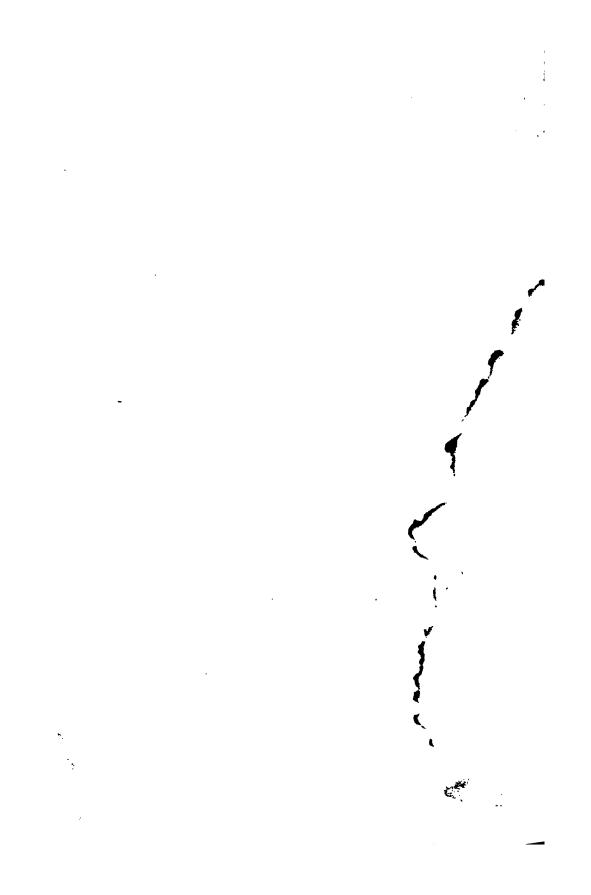
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STUDIEN

ZUR

ENGLISCHEN PHILOLOGIE

HERAUSGEGEBEN

VON

LORENZ MORSBACH

O. Ö. PROFESSOR AN DER UNIVERSITÄT GÖTTINGEN

HEFT XI

ERIK BJÖRKMAN:

SCARDINAVIAN LOAN-WORDS IN MIDDLE ENGLISH PART II

HALLE A. S.

MAX NIEMEYER

1902

SCANDINAVIAN LOAN-WORDS

IN MIDDLE ENGLISH

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BY

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PART II

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Chapter II. Non-phonetic loan-word tests.

In the preceding chapter an account has been given of the words which are proved to be Scand. loan-words by means of phonetic criteria. As has been pointed out, there are no loan-word tests more reliable than the phonetic ones; which is a self-evident thing considering the close affinity and the innumerable points of resemblance which must have existed between Old English and the dialects spoken by the Scand. invaders; the only differences between the two languages we are fairly able to state are those of phonology, and it is on those we have based the results arrived at in the last chapter. Some other differences must of course have existed. The only one which we have to take into consideration for our purposes is that of vocabulary. Although the vocabularies of the two languages were to a very great extent identical, there must of course have been a considerable number of words peculiar originally to one or the other of the languages in question, but subsequently adopted by one language from the other. But we shall never be able to make out wholly in what points the vocabulary of one language differed from that of the other, and consequently the results drawn from presumed differences of vocabulary must be regarded as very uncertain. If a word - known to have existed in Scandinavian - does not occur in English before the Danelag times, it has of course possibly been borrowed from Scand., but it is also very possible that the word belonged to the native vocabulary of the English, although not recorded till later times. The question is, to decide in which cases the non-existence of a word in English

before the Danelag times is to be regarded as a loan-word test of any importance and when not. I think the material of words, proved by phonetic tests to be Scand. loan-words, throws some light upon this question. As all other principles than those gained by an examination of the provable loan-words are only of a theoretical value, I think an examination of those loan-words from a few points of view must be made the starting-point for all researches into the matter.

The following points of view may here be taken into consideration.

- 1. It is chiefly in the literary monuments of the East Midland and the Northern dialects that such loan-words occur. It would be of the greatest value for our question to examine the distribution of the unmistakable loan-words in the M. E. texts. If a word occurs only in texts where the class of loanwords in question is especially richly represented, this fact points in a certain degree to the Scand. origin of the word. It must be born in mind that the differences as to phonology between Engl. and Scand. were rather small; the loan-words proved to be so by phonological tests are nevertheless very numerous and therefore all the more show how intimate the blending of Scand. and E. elements must have been in certain dialects. Such texts are, as will be easily gathered from the quotations given in the preceding chapter: Orrm., Ps., Gen. and Ex., Hav., Gaw., A. P., Hampole's works, Alex., Pr. P., and many others. I think this point of view to be the most important of all, as the others, which have been very much overestimated by previous writers, are in my opinion rather irrelevant. we must not, on the other hand, attach too much importance to the distribution point of view alone, as the fact that many Germanic words only recorded, say, in the Orrmulum, are distinctly English, proves this criterion ont to be absolutely reliable but only endowed with a great amount of probability.
- 2. A great number of distinctly Scandinavian words are found in English by the side of their native English equivalents. This fact proves sufficiently the importance of the Scand. influence. It proves also that many words recorded in O. E. may very well be Scand. loan-words in the instances in which they are recorded in M. E. Thus, even if a word was common

in W. Saxon, but in the M. E. dialects descending from O. Anglian is found only in monuments rich in Scand. elements, it is probably in these monuments a Scand. loan-word, although its form does not prove anything in this respect. A list of such doublets (native and Scand. words side by side) has been given by Kluge, Grundr.² I p. 941 f. I give here a similar list — but only of the most certain cases — with references to pages of Part I where the words have been dealt with.

- M. E. aze, awe: O. E. eze, M. E. eie, p. 30 foot-note.
- M. E. azune: O. E. æznan, p. 110. O. E. ās-: O. E. ōs-, p. 98.
- M. E. bāle: O. E. bæle, p. 87.
- M. E. *bāre*: M. E. *bēre*, p. 88.
- M. E. bezztenn: O. E. bætan, p. 41.
- M. E. big 'barley': O. E. bēow, p. 32.
- M. E. *blā*: O. E. *blāw*, p. 82 foot-note.
- M. E. blast: O. E. blast, p. 84.
- M. E. bleike: O. E. blāc, p. 41.
- M. E. bred: O. E. breord, p. 168.
- M. E. breißen: O. E. brezdan, p. 162.
- M. E. brod: O. E. brord, p. 168.
- M. E. burhe etc. : O. E. zebyrd, p. 162.
- N. E. dag 'dew': O. E. dēaw 'dew', p. 33.
- M. E. deilen 'to participate' (Hav. 7079): O. E. $d\bar{e}lan$.
- M. E. egg 'ovum' : O. E. æz, p. 36.
- M. E. epen: O. E. wepan, p. 178.
- M. E. $fr\bar{a}$: O. E. from, p. 100.
- M. E. freisten: O. E. frāsian, p. 42.

- Words in g with by-forms in g, p. 148 ff.
- M. E. găd: O. E. zierd, p. 168.
- M. E. gaite 'goat' : O. E. gāt,p. 42.
- M. E. garb: O. E. zeard, p. 150, 162.
- M. E. gleg 'clearsighted': O. E. gleaw, p. 34.
- M. E. $g\bar{o}m$: O. E. $z\bar{i}eman$, p. 70.
- M. E. gowke: O. E. zēac, p. 69.
- M. E. $gr\bar{a}$: O. E. $gr\bar{a}z$, p. 89.
- M. E. grāten, grōten: O. E. grātan, p. 90.
- M. E. grein : O. E. zeræden, p. 43.
- M. E. grezzhenn: O. E. zerædan, p. 44.
- M. E. hag 'a break, gap': O. E. hēawan, p. 34.
- M. E. heil, heilen etc.: O. E. hāl, hālen etc., p. 44.
- M. E. heipen: O. E. hæpen, p. 45.
- M. E. hellen: O. E. hieldan, p. 170.
- O. E. hundrað: O. E. hundred, p. 163.

M. E. wheym: O. E. hwām, p. 45.

Words in k with by-forms in ch, p. 139 ff.

O. E. cōp, M. E. cōpen: O. E. cēap, cēapan, p. 68, 70.

M. E. quainen : O. E. cwānian, p. 46.

M. E. laisen: O. E. līesan, p. 64.

M. E. lāt, lǫt, lāten, lǫten: O. E. lætan, p. 90 f.

M. E. lezzk, lezzkenn : O. E. lāc, lācan, p. 46 f.

M. E. lezztenn: O. E. wlātian, p. 47, 178.

M. E. leib: O. E. lað, p. 47.

M. E. *lipsen*: O. E. *wlips*, p. 178.

M. E. lit: O. E. wlite, p. 178.

M. E. lone: O. E. lean, p. 70.

M. E. loupen: O. E. hleapan, p. 70 f.

M. E. lous, laus: O. E. lēas, p. 71.

M. E. nazz: O. E. nā, p. 47.

M. E. nig: O. E. hnēaw, p. 34.

M. E. nowwt: O. E. neat, p. 71.

M. E. od : O. E. ord, p. 169. M. E. $\bar{o}k$: O. E. $\bar{e}ac$, p. 72.

M. E. oker: O. E. wōcor, p. 179.

M. E. $\bar{o}p$: O. E. $w\bar{o}d$, p. 165, 179.

O. E. ōðen: O. E. wōden, p. 165, 179.

M. E. raipen: O. E. rāp, p. 48.

M. E. $r\bar{a}p$, $r\bar{o}p$, $r\bar{a}pen$, $r\bar{o}pen$: O. E. $r\bar{a}d$, $r\bar{a}dan$, p. 91. M. E. rezzsenn : O. E. ræren, p. 49.

O. E. $r\bar{o}da$, M. E. raup: O. E. $r\bar{e}ad$, p. 68.

M. E. sannen : O. E. sēþan, p. 172.

M. E. sister: O. E. sweostor, p. 117.

Numerous M. E. words in sc-, sk with by-forms in sh, p. 119 ff.

M. E. som : O. E. seam, p. 72.

M. E. span-newe : O. E. $sp\bar{o}n$, p. 83.

M. E. swarthe: O. E. sweard, p. 166.

O. E. (bat-)swezen, M. E. sweinO. E. swān, p. 39, 49.

M. E. taysen: O. E. tæsan, p. 50.

M. E. teit: O. E. tāt, p. 50.

M. E. *tīpende*: O. E. *tīd*, p. 166 f. M. E. *trigg*: O. E. *trēowe*, p. 35.

M. E. *pezz* etc. : O. E. *pā*, p. 50.

M. E. *pohh*, thogh etc. : O. E. *pēah*, p. 71 ff.

M. E. *pursdai* : O. E. *punresdæz*, p. 180.

M. E. wān: O. E. wēn, p. 83.

M. E. $w\bar{a}r$: M. E. $w\bar{e}r$, p. 94.

M. E. wazz : O. E. wā, p. 50 f.

M. E. weik: O. E. wāc, p. 52.

M. E. waith: O. E. $w\bar{a}p$, p. 52. M. E. waiten: O. E. $w\bar{c}fan$,

l. E. waiuen : O. E. wæfan p. 60.

M. E. will: O. E. wilde, p. 170.

M. E. $w\bar{\varrho}pen$: O. E. $w\bar{\varrho}pen$, p. 93.

3. Words having nothing distinctly Scandinavian in their form or sense which are found in English, for the first time,

after the Danelag period but which occur also in L. German have by some writers been regarded as native English words; thus Wall p. 69. The material treated of in the last chapter shows, however, that the equivalents of a considerable number of unmistakable loan-words occur not only in L. German but also in O. E. (with a distinctly English form). In texts where such distinct loan-words are especially numerous and where we are entitled to assume a very important Scand. influence or a most intimate blending of Scand, and English elements, we may look upon most words which do not occur in O. E. as being very possibly loan-words, provided they are also recorded in Scandinavian. In texts where such unmistakable loan-words are very rare or do not occur we are generally not entitled to derive words not recorded in O. E. from Scand., unless there are some special reasons for doing so. And in my opinion we must not attach any great importance to the existence or non-existence of the word in other Germanic languages. In short, the most important thing is the distribution in the M. E. dialects. Next to this comes the question whether the word is found in other Germanic languages than Scand, and English. And we are no doubt entitled to look upon words only found in Scand. and M. E. as most certainly Scand., provided their distribution or other circumstances do not contradict such an assumption.

Such tests are, however, all more or less unreliable. The only thing we are able to arrive at by means of the same is a greater or lesser degree of probability. It cannot be said of a single word among those treated of in this chapter that it is to be with absolute certainty regarded as a Scand. loanword. The only thing we are able to state, is that a very great percentage of the words in question must no doubt be of Scand. origin. Under such circumstances it seems advisable to abstain from discussing in full the value of the manifold points of view which are to be taken into consideration in deciding whether a given word is a Scand. loan-word or not. The result would only be a series of different degrees of probabilities. And as all those questions are very entangled, there being in most cases a great number of considerations to balance against each other, abstract principles are of very little value. I there-

fore prefer to give simply a list of the words which seem to me to be most likely from Seand. This list will be followed by another containing words, possibly Scandinavian, but not to be looked upon as such as decidedly as those of the former list. In many cases it is, of course, absolutely impossible to draw any definite limits between the two groups, and it is then a mere matter of taste whether a word is to be given in the first or second list. The chief result of this arrangement will be to enable us to grasp with tolerable exactitude the minimum of the real dimensions of the Scand. influence upon English. In List I there are, in any case, only very few words erroneously given as loan-words; at least 90% are no doubt to be derived from Scandinavian. In List II the percentage of errors is, of course, greater, but I do not think it may very well exceed 25%. Furthermore we must take into consideration that a certain amount of loan-words may have been omitted and erroneously looked upon by myself as native and these words no doubt cover more than the 10% of List I which I may have erroneously derived from Scand. In these lists several words are to be found which have already been treated of in Chap. I: when the phonetic criteria are not fully reliable the points of view upon which this chapter is based must be taken into account. Thus we obtain very often several tests which all point to the same direction. It would be useless to arrange the material according to all those tests. The words therefore are given in alphabetical order and treated each separately. In some cases I have tried to determine more closely the different degrees of probability. Some words which are very possibly Scand. I have described as probably native. A considerable amount of work has been of a mere negative character. In the philological literature, in dictionaries and etymological works, very often words are given as Scand. which cannot - from one reason or another - possibly be so. I have, as a rule, contented myself with omitting such words. At the end of this chapter a small selection of such words is given only by way of exemplification.

I have also as a rule omitted words not recorded till Mod. E. times.

List I.

Words the Scandinavian origin of which is tolerably certain. 1)

M. E. addlenn Orrm., adlen, adilen, adil, N. E. dial. addle, eddle 'to earn, acquire': O. W. Scand. $\rho \partial lask$ 'to acquire'.') In modern English dialects this word is used, according to N. E. D., everywhere from Leicestershire to Northumberland, but not in Scotland (cf. E. D. D.). The Scandinavian word does not seem to occur in the E. Scand. languages; it is therefore, most probably, of distinctly W. Scand. introduction (cf. Björkman, Dial. Prov. p. 8). The word does not occur in any other languages than Scand. and English. Its Scandinavian origin is not to be doubted, especially as its distribution in M. E. and N. E. dialects points to the same source. Concerning the soundchange $\delta > d$, see p. 159.

M. E. azhe Orrm., aze, awe Hav., Pr. P. etc. (see N. E. D.) 'awe, terror', azhefull Orrm. 'aweful', azli, ahglich 'terrible', azien 'to awe, terrify' (see N. E. D.): O. W. Scand. agi sb. 'awe, terror', O. Swed. aghi sb. 'awe, terror, castigation', agha 'chide, castigate'. The native form is O. E. eze, M. E. eye with i-mutation. The N. E. D. shows us clearly the struggle between the two forms which has ended in the victory of the Scandinavian one. Orrm uses both. Although, as has been pointed out p. 30 foot-note, the possibility of the doublets having existed in some English dialects before the times of the Danelag is not a priori excluded, the fact that the form with the a-vowel occurs in M. E. chiefly in texts which show so many traces of Scand. influence entitles us to derive it from Scandinavian.

M. E. axel- sb. in axel-tre sb. C. M., Gow., Mand., Pr. P. etc. 'axle-tree': O. W. Scand. oxull, oxultré, O. Swed. axul 'axle-tree'.

¹⁾ Flom, Scand. Influence on Southern Lowland Scotch, New York 1900 (Columbia University Germanic Studies Vol. I, No. I) was not accessible to me till I was engaged in the reading of the proof-sheets. Although I am obliged to disagree with his views in many points, I cannot here enter in full upon this work. Some occasional remarks made during the reading of the proofs may suffice for the present.

²) Concerning the Scandinavian word and its ground-form, see Sievers, Berichte d. kgl. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wissensch., d. 14. Juli 1894, p. 150.

O. E. eax 'axle-tree', O. H. G. ahsa, Dutch as without the formative -l, which seems only to have occurred in Scandinavian, suggest the Scandinavian origin of M. E. axel-tre. Cf. Kluge-Lutz, E. Et. p. 9, N. E. D. s. v. axle-tree, Kluge, Et. wb. s. v. Achse.

M. E. axyltothe 'molaris, maxillaris' Cath. Angl., Dougl., N. E. dial. axle-tooth, assle-tooth 'a molar tooth, a grinder': O. Dan. axeltand, Swed. dial. akslatand (Rietz); the O. W. Scand. form being jaxl (cf. Norw. dial. jaksle 'molar tooth' Aasen, Ross), which would have given M. E. *exel-, the English word (axyl, axle, assle) is probably borrowed from E. Scand.; cf. Björkman, Dial. Prov. p. 24.

M. E. aand, hand, aynd, oonde sb. C. M., Hamp. Pr. C., Barb. Br., Pr. P. 'breath', onden, anden vb. Langl. P. Pl., Pr. P., Cath. Angl. 'to breathe', N. E. dial. and, aynd, eynd etc. 'to breathe' (see N. E. D., E. D. D., Flom S. 26): O. W. Scand. andi, ond, Dan. aand, Swed. andedräkt, ande, anda sb., 'breath, spirit etc.', O. W. Scand. anda vb., Swed. andas vb. 'to breathe'. In O. E. the sb. anda (cogn. with O. S. ando, O. H. G. anado, ando, anto 'mental emotion') meant 'enmity, rancour, hatred'. The sense 'breath' is therefore to be regarded as due to Scand. influence.

M. E. anger sb. 'trouble, affliction, wrath, ire, physical pain' Gen. and Ex., A. P., Hamp. Pr. C. etc., anngrenn, angren vb. 'to distress, trouble, vex, hurt, wound' Orrm., Hamp. Pr. C. etc. (see N. E. D.), N. E. anger: O. W. Scand. angr sb. 'trouble, affliction', angra vb. 'to grieve, vex', O. Dan. anger sb. 'affliction, grief, wrath, ire, repentance', angre vb. 'to vex, hurt', N. Swed. anger sb. 'repentance', angra vb. 'to repent'. The word is not to be found in the other Teutonic languages and its Scandinavian origin is unmistakable.

M. E. ār, ǫr 'early, sooner, before' Orrm., Hav. etc.: O. W. Scand. ár 'early', Dan. aar- in aarvaagen (ef. above p. 108, Kluge, Paul's Grundriss I p. 1033). The distribution of the word, as seen from N. E. D., speaks for its Scandinavian origin.

M. E. (Lat.) arvell in MS. of 1459, quoted in N. E. D. I p. 476 'a funeral feast', N. E. dial. arval 'a funeral repast': O. W. Scand. erfiql, O. Dan. arveel, Swed. arföl.

M. E. aske-fise 'one who blows the ashes, ciniflo' Pr. P. etc.: Norw. dial. oskefis, Swed., Dan. askefis. The Scandinavian introduction of the word is not to be doubted. See above p. 135 f.

O. E., M. E. at adv. or conj. 'that' Durh. B. (Kluge, Grundriss² I p. 937), Metr. Hom., Sev. Sag., Sir Degr., Barb. Br., Hamp. Ps., etc., N. E. dial. at 'that' is probably due to Scand. at (< pat, see Kock, Ark. f. Nord. Fil. XI p. 117 ff.). Likewise M. E. at rel. pron. 'who, whom, which' E. E. Ps., C. M., Barb. Bruce, D. Troy etc. may be from Scand. (cf. O. W. Scand. at 'who, which). Still the word may in some cases be a worndown form of Engl. that, as is assumed by Murray, D. S. C. Sc. p. 26, N. E. D. Possibly M. E. at introducing the infinitive of purpose, and N. E. dial. at used instead of to as the sign of the infinitive (see N. E. D., E. D. D. s. v. ado, at) are also to be derived from Scandinavian.

M. E. afell sb. 'strength' Orrm., afledd p. part. 'provided with strength, vigorous, strong'1) Orrm., avelen 'to earn, deserve' Hom. II 159: O. W. Scand. aft sb. 'strength, power, ability' afla vb. 'to perform, acquire', O. Swed, afl, avil sb. 'strength, power, gain, profit', afla vb. 'to produce, earn, beget', Dan. avel sb. 'profit etc.', avle 'to beget', cogn. with O. H. G. avalon, afalôn 'viel zu schaffen haben, sich rühren, arbeiten'. Other related words are given by Tamm, Et. Sv. Ordb. s. v. avel, avla.2) The word is found twice in O. E.: in the O. E. redaction of the O. Sax. Genesis (abal, see Sievers Hêliand, Halle 1878 p. XXXII) and in two 11th ey. MSS. (C. C. 201 S. 18, Cott. Nero A. 1) of the Institutes of Polity, ed. by Thorpe, Ancient Laws and Institutes p. 422: and him zebirað eac þæt he eallum his afole cristendom lufize. It is to be noted that the oldest MS. (Bodl. Jun. 121), which seems to have been written in the 10th ey., offers the reading: eallum mæzne. The O. E. uses of the word therefore do not seem to contradict the current

¹) The sense is hardly 'begotten', as White and Holt assume; see Brate, Beitr. X p. 32.

²⁾ It is a very surprising fact, that the word afell occurs in the Orrm. at the end of the septenar: annd asse-bohh itt litell be, itt hafebb mikell afell (v. 3716f.); also the spelling afledd (v. 7903) is noteworthy. The latter may be compared with the spelling ofne (inn ofne 'in the oven' Orrm. vv. 993, 999).

derivation of M. E. afell etc. from Scandinavian. The use of the word in the Genesis is due to the O. Saxon original, but in the other case it may be due to Scandinavian influence. Still there is, of course, no absolute necessity to derive the O. E. and M. E. word from Scandinavian.

M. E. awkwart, awkward etc., see p. 20 foot-note. The use of the word as a preposition 'athwart, across' in Lowland Scotch (Flom, Scand. influence on Southern Lowland Scotch p. 26) confirms my etymology of the word (from avakt-pwart); cf. N. E. athwart.

M. E. basken 'to bask', N. E. dial. bask 'to beat severely, to strike with a bruising blow': Norw. dial. baska 'to splash in the water like a seabird', Swed. dial. baska 'to beat', see Björkman, Dial. Prov. p. 6 f. and above p. 136.

N. E. batten 'to grow fat, to thrive': O. W. Scand. batna 'to improve', Swed. dial. batna 'to be healed, to swell'; cf. above p. 15 and Sweet, H. E. S.² p. 295, Kluge-Lutz, E. Et. s. v. batten.

O. E. $-b\bar{y}$ in $Ormesb\bar{y}$ above p. 29, M. E. $b\bar{\imath}$ 'town' C. M. 13290, Guy 267, -bi in $Grimesb\bar{\imath}$ Hav., N. E. -bi in numerous place-names (principally in Wm., Yksh., Lincsh., Cumb., Norf.): Dan., Swed. by 'village, town'. Although the form $b\acute{y}r$ occasionally is to be found also in O. W. Scand., I think the M. E. word points to its E. Scand. introduction, as the usual form of the word in O. W. Scand. was $b\acute{e}r$, which would have given a M. E. $*b\bar{e}$ (not *bo as Flom assumes p. 5).

M. E. bīke 'a nest of wasps, hornets, or wild bees, as distinct from the hive or skep of domestic bees; also the whole nestful of bees; a swarm' C. M. 76, Townl. Myst. 325. N. E. Dictionary gives another M. E. quotation where the word seems to mean 'a building, a habitation'. In Mod. E. dialects the word means, according to E. D. D., 'a nest of wild bees, wasps, etc., a nestful of bees, a swarm', but occurs also in other senses. The etymology of the word has not been found before. It cannot be from an O. E. *bēowīc 'bee-dwelling' or something of that kind, because this would not account for the \(\bar{\ell}\)-vowel of the word. It seems reasonable, however, to assume connexion with the word 'bee'; but this is not possible as long as we start from the native word (O. E. bēo). If we

make the corresponding Scand. word (O. W. Scand. bý, O. Swed. by, bi, O. Dan. bi) our starting-point, the difficulty of the vowel is, however, removed. It only remains to find a Scand, word which could be assumed to be the source of M. E. bike. In my opinion, such a Scand. word actually exists. N. E. D. gives a passage from Lindesay's Monarche (A. D. 1552) where the word bike is 'applied contemptuously to a swarm of people, a teeming crowd, a crew', and adds one quotation from the 18th and two from the 19th cy. where the word is used in the same sense. E. D. D. gives bike 'a gathering, assembly of people'. The latter senses give us the right to connect the word with a Swedish word which has not hitherto been sufficiently explained. There is a Swedish (rec. lang. and dialectical) buke meaning, according to Rietz, 'gathering of worthless, vulgar people, rabble, mob'.1) In my opinion, this word is an extension by means of a k-suffix (giving it a collective sense or denoting something appertaining to the stem-word) of O. Swed, $b\bar{y}$ 'a bee'. Its original sense was 'a swarm of bees' where upon it has come to mean 'a swarm, a crowd in general' and after that a 'crowd of vulgar people', which was the sensedevelopment undergone also by the English word. Swed. byke has been explained in two different ways by scholars. Both explanations are, no doubt, wrong. I need not dwell on the one given by Rietz who connects it with bykka 'a bitch', but proceed directly to that given by Tamm in his Svensk etymologisk ordbok. He derives it from M. L. G. buke sb. (cf. H. G. Bauche f. 'maceratio in lixivia, Waschen und Bähen in Lauge' Grimm), M. L. G. buken 'Wäsche in Büchen-lauge (buke) legen, und darin eine Zeitlang stehen lassen, damit sie rein und weiss werde', H. G. bauchen, bäuchen 'lixivia macerare' (= N. E. to buck). L. G. bilken has been introduced into Scandinavian: Swed. byka, Dän. byge vb. The Scand. sb. is Swed. byk (earlier also byke e. g. in Lind's Teutsch-Schwed. u. Schwed.-Teutsches Lexicon 1749), Dan. byg. Concerning these words see Tamm s. v. buk, buka, Kluge, Et. Wb.6 s. v. bauchen 'in heisser Lauge

¹⁾ Ihre, Glossarium Suiogothicum, Upsala 1769, translates byke by 'hominum colluvies, civitatis sentina'. In Ihre's Dialectlexicon (1766) the following passage is to be found: "byke V. G. caterva. O. G. colluvies hominum. Verml. Fölge, men föraktligt vis".

einweichen'. I think it is obvious that my explanation of Swed. byke 'rabble, mob' better suits the sense than the one given by Tamm, the more as we are able to follow the same sense-development, undergone by the word introduced into English.

N. E. billow not known before 1550: O. W. Scand. bylgja, O. Swed. bylghia, Dan. Bølge (= M. H. G. bulge 'Sack von Leder, Felleisen, Sturmwelle', M. L. G. bulge 'die sehwellende, unruhige Welle, Balg, Schlauch'). Concerning the sound-development M. E. *bilze > billow, see Kluge, Paul's Grundr. Ip. 936.

M. E. binge 'heap, theca, cumera' M. H. 97, Pr. P. 36, Dougl, N. E. dial. bing vb. 'to pile in a heap', sb. 'heap, pile': O. W. Scand. bingr translated by Fritzner by 'afdelt Rum', Norw. dial. bing 'a large wooden case affixed to the wall the back of which is formed by the wall itself, used for the keeping of corn or salt, room or division of a cow-house, a shut off room for sheep or goats', binge 'place where dung is kept, dust-hole', O. Swed. binge 'a wooden case or bin used for the keeping of corn, flour, etc.', Swed. dial. bing 'heap, pile', early Dan. bing; concerning the Scand. words and their etymology, see Tamm, Sv. Et. Ordb. s. v. binge. M. E. bengere of corne (bengge) 'techa', bengere of a mylle (bengge) 'ferricapsia' Pr. P. 31, bingger, Pr. P. 36 are no doubt connected with binge, although their exact relationship to the same offers some difficulties. In later times bing was a good deal confused with bin.

M. E. bür, bir 'a strong wind, the force of the wind, or of any moving body, momentum, impetus, rush', A. P., Gaw., Wycl., D. Troy., etc., N. E. dial. birr 'force, impetus, energy, etc.': O. W. Scand. byrr 'a favorable wind', O. Swed. byr 'fair wind', Swed. dial. byr, bör 'wind, fair wind', O. Dan. bor 'wind, fair wind'.

M. E. blā, blō 'blue, black, livid': O. W. Scand. blár, O. Swed. blār, Dan. blaa. See above p. 82 foot-note.

M. E. bland in the phrase in bland, ebland 'together, among' E. A. P., Gaw., Alex. (Sk.): O. W. Seand. i bland, Swed. ibland.

M. E. blome sb. 'the blossom or flower of a plant', blomen vb. 'to bear flowers, to blossom', Orrm., Gen. and Ex., C. M.,

Havelok, A. P., Pr. P. etc.: O. W. Scand. blóm, blómi, O. Swed. blōme (= O. Sax. blômo, O. H. G. bluomo, Goth. blôma). See N. E. D. The local distribution of the word points clearly to its Scandinavian source. O. E. blōma meant 'moss of metal'.

M. E. blotnen 'to soften or moisten; to anoint' Metr. Hom. 17: O. W. Seand. blotna, O. Swed. blotna, blutna 'to become soft or moist'. As for the trans. sense of the word, depending on the influence of the native trans. verbs in -nen, see above p. 16, foot-note.

M. E. bol 'tree trunk' Gaw., A. P., D. Arth., Alex. (Sk.), bul(axe), bol(axe) Orrm., Rel. II 176, Oct. 1039, Scotch bole, bolax (Flom p. 30): O. W. Scand. bolr, bulr 'tree trunk', O. Swed. bol, bul 'tree trunk'. See Brate, P. B. B. X p. 36, N. E. D.

M. E. bole, bule 'a bull' Orrm., C. M., Hav., A. P., etc. O. W. Seand. boli, O. Dan. bul. Cf. above p. 179 foot-note 1. Although the word occurs also in German (L. G., Dutch), its Seand. origin in English is proved by its local occurrence.

M. E. bolnen 'to swell' C. M., Gaw., A. P., Langl. B., Pr. P., Alex. (Sk.) etc.: O. W. Scand. bolgna, Dan. bulne, O. Swed. bolna, bulna 'to swell'. Cf. above p. 15. Concerning M. E. bollen 'to swell', see above p. 16, foot-note.

M. E. bōn 'prayer, request' Orrm., C. M., Hav., Gaw., Ch. etc. (see Dictionaries): O. W. Scand. bón 'prayer, request', see Björkman, Dial. Prov. p. 5. Concerning M. E. bōnen 'to pray', see Brate, P. B. B. X p. 35.

O. E. bonda, bunda 'house-holder; free man, plebeian; husband' (Steenstrup, Danel. p. 97 ff.), husbonda, husbunda (Steenstrup, ibd.), M. E. bonde, bunde 'peasant, churl, serf, slave' (often associated with bond 'band'): O. W. Scand. bondi, buandi, O. E. Scand. bonde; see N. E. D., Björkman, Dial. Prov. p. 5 and foot-note 1.

M. E. botsate 'right to dwell in the country': O. W. Scand. búðseta. The word is probably an adaptation of an O. Dan. word (*bōð-seta) now lost, as is proved by the o-vowel (cf. next word). The English word is found in the privileges of Henry III for the town of London (Liber Custumarum I p. 63—64 in Rerum Britannicarum medii ævi scriptores). Cf. Steenstrup, Danelag p. 380, A. Bugge, Norsk Historisk Tidskrift 1898 p. 5.

M. E. $b\bar{o}pe$ 'booth, stall' Orrm., A. P., Ayenb., Pr. P. etc. : O. Swed. $b\bar{o}p$, Dän. bod. The word is distinctly E. Scand. Cf. Björkman, Dial. Prov. p. 24. Although the word occurs also in German, its first appearance in the Orrmulum' etc. puts its Scandinavian origin beyond a doubt.

M. E. brixle, brixsill sb. 'reproach' C. M., Alex. (Sk.), brixlen 'to reprove' A. P., uppbrixle 'object of reproach' Orrm. : O. W. Scand. brigsli sb., brigsla vb.; cf. above p. 17.

M. E. brīn 'brow' Man. (F.) 12344, Octav. 931, Av. Arth. XV, Pr. P. 51 (: bryne, or brow of he eye. Supercilium): O. W. Scand. brýnn pl., O. Swed. bryn, Dan. bryn 'eye-brow'.

M. E. $b\bar{u}$ 'dweller, inhabitant' K. Alis. 5956: O. W. Scand. búi 'a dweller, inhabitant', see Björkman, Dial. Prov. p. 4.

M. E. $b\bar{u}$ 'stock of cattle on a farm' C. M. 6744: O. W. Scand. $b\acute{u}$ n. 'a house, estates, the stock in a farmstead'; see N. E. D., Björkman, Dial. Prov. p. 4.

M. E. $b\bar{u}n$ (N. E. bound), $i b\bar{o}ne$, $b\bar{o}ne$ 'ready, prepared', N. E. dial. boun etc.: O. W. Scand. búinn, O. E. Scand. bōin, see Björkman, Dial. Prov. p. 3 f., 5. Concerning M. E. būnen vb. 'to prepare', N. E. dial. boune (Flom p. 30), see Dial. Prov. p. 4, foot-note 1. N. E. dial. boon 'to mend a highway' (Der., Lin.) is probably an East Scand. loan-word, cf. Swed. bona 'to prepare, make ready, mend', formed from the East Scand. adj. boin 'ready' (see Tamm, Et. Sv. Ordb.); but it may also have been formed on English ground from the East Scand. loan-word $b\bar{o}ne$. Kluge, Et. Wb.6 s. v. bohnen derives N. E. boon 'to mend a highway' erroneously from O. E. bonian 'to polish, burnish', which is a thoroughly distinct word and formed from the indogermanic root bhan or bhon (see Kluge Et. Wb.), whereas Swed. $b\bar{o}na$ 'to prepare, make ready, mend', N. E. dial. boon 'to mend a highway' belongs to the root bheu 'to grow etc.', cf. Tamm, Et. ordb. s. v. bo vb. bona (om). Also the explanation given in N. E. D. and E. D. D. (from Scand. $b\bar{o}n$ 'prayer') is untenable.1)

M. E. deye 'dairy-woman', N. E. dial. dey (E. D. D.): O. W.

¹⁾ The relationship to this word-group of M. E. bawnand 'abiding or dwelling' Alex. (Sk.) 4908 (: and fand a berne in a bedd bawnand alane) is very obscure. Skeat, Glossary, remarks: "probably for bownand as if from M. E. bownen 'to get ready' but used in the sense of the O. N. búa".

Scand. deigja, O. Swed. deghia, cf. above p. 62 foot-note. Anglo-Fr. deye (Skeat, Notes on Engl. Et. p. 394) is from English.

M. E. dil, dille 'to conceal, hide, to conceal oneself' C. M. 202, 1081, 4271, 9292, etc., see N. E. D.: O. W. Scand. dylja, O. Swed. dylia, Dan. dølge. Scand. introduction is unmistakable.

M. E. dingen str. vb., trans. and intr., 'to deal heavy blows, to beat, knock, strike' Hav., C. M., A. P., Langl. P. Pl. B., Pr. C., Wynt, etc. (see N. E. D.): O. Swed. diunga 'to beat, strike', O. Dan. dinge; cf. O. W. Scand. dengja, O. Swed. dængia, O. Dan. dænge 'to beat, strike'. It is not probable that M. E. dingen is from O. W. Scand. dengja, O. Swed. dængia, Dan. dænge, as has hitherto been the opinion held by most scholars. In the earliest uses of the word, this etymology is decidedly erroneous. The reasons are as follows. 1. M. E. dingen is, even in the earliest uses, a strong verb; the Scand. word in question is a weak verb. 2. If dingen is from *dengen, we should have the right to find this form recorded somewhere in English. In Hav., where the word occurs twice riming with an original i (see Schmidt, Zur Heimatsbestimmung des Havelok, Göttingen 1900, p. 35), e is kept before ng (lengen, genge, hengen, slengen, Schmidt p. 33). If the current etymology were right, we should have to expect the form in Hav. to be *dengen just as Scand. drengr has become dreng in Hav. In Old Teutonic there existed two verbs side by side: *dingwan (intr. and strong verb) and *dangwian (trans. and weak factitive verb). The former has resulted in O. Swed. diunga str. vb.1) and O. Dan. dinge (Kalkar, only found in praes.), and this Scand. word is, in my opinion, the source of M. E. dingen st. vb.; the latter has given O. W. Scand. dengja, O. Swed. dængia, Dan. dænge (see Tamm, Et. Sv. Ordb. s. v. dänga); O. E. *denczan 'to knock, ding' given by Bosw.-Toller, Kluge, Et. Wb. s. v. dengeln, is a fiction. The only reason to assume the existence of such an O. E. verb is offered by N. E. dinge, dindge sb. 'a broadish dint or depression on a surface caused by a knock or blow; a slight hollow or indentation', vb. 'to make a broadish hollow or depression in

¹⁾ Teut. i became O. Swed. iu before ngw. Kluge, Et. Wb. s. v. dengeln, erroneously derives Swed. dünga from *dingwan.

the surface of anything as by a knock; to dint, bruise, batter'. But the etymology of this word, which is only of recent appearance in literature, may be considered rather uncertain. I therefore think we are entitled to give up thoroughly the existence of an alleged M. E. *dengen or *denğen, although, as far as the form of the word is concerned, M. E. dingen, when appearing in later records, after the sound-transition eng > ing had taken place, may be from an earlier *dengen as well as from dingen or depend on the mixing up of both. Although the word-stem is to be found also in other Teutonic languages (cf. Kluge s. v. dengeln, Tamm s. v. dänga) and although the above-mentioned N. E. dindge might possiby point to its existence also in O. E., we have reasons (esp. the local distribution of the word) to consider M. E. dingen a Scand. loan-word.

O. E. dreng, M. E. dreng, dring 'a free tenant, warrior, man' Battle of Maldon, Charter of Ranulf of ca. 1100, Laz., C. M., Hav.: O. W. Scand. drengr 'young man', Swed. dräng 'man-servant', Dan. dreng 'boy, lad', cognate with Langob. drancus, Brückner p. 203. The spelling drench in Domesd. Book and Laz. 14700 is eurious, but the Scand. origin of the word cannot be doubted.

M. E. drūpen 'to hang or sink down, to sink, decline, etc.' C. M., R. Br. Chron., Ch., D. Troy. etc.: O. W. Scand. drúpa 'to droop, hang the head, etc.', Dan. dial. drube 'to sink'!) (= Dutch druipen). It is not to be decided whether the extension with an n-suffix M. E. drūpnen (see N. E. D.) is from a Scand. *drūpna or has been formed on English ground. Concerning the sb. drūp(e)ning, drūk(e)ning, drūking see above p. 176 foot-note.

M. E. elten Gen. Ex. 2892 'to knead, press' (cf. N. E. D., Holthausen, E. St. XVI p. 431), N. E. dial. elt Sc., N. Cy., Yks., Lancsh., Lincsh., Nhp. 'to knead dough' (E. D. D.): O. W. Scand. elta 'to knead, press', Swed. älta, Dan. ælte.

M. E. ender, enders, andirs 'latter, last past' Spec. 60, Gow., C. M., Ar. and Merl., Th. Erc. etc.: O. W. Scand. ender 'formerly, again', Norw. dial. ender, enders. Only in W. Scand. and English; see Björkman, Dial. Prov. p. 8.

¹⁾ This was, no doubt, the original sense in the two examples given by Feilberg: plovskæret druber få mej, få let and kownet de drube.

M. E. eng 'meadow' Cath. Angl. 115, N. E. dial. ing: O. W. Scand. eng, Swed. äng, Dan. eng (cognate with M. Du. enck, dat. enghe 'grasland, bouwland, veldt', Verwijs and Verdam, Mndl. Wb.; ef. Uhlenbeck, P. B. B. XXVI p. 290).

M. E. enkerly, see Dial. Prov. p. 21, Flom p. 39.

M. E. erre, arre 'a wound, sear' E. E. Ps., Hamp. Ps., Pr. C., Wiel. etc. (only in northern writers), N. E. dial. arr: O. W. Seand. err, err, Swed. ärr, Swed. dial. arr, Dan. ar; ef. Bugge in Fritzner's Dictionary III p. 1103, Kluge, K. Z. XXVI p. 101 foot-note 1, Söderberg, Forngutnisk Ljudlära p. 13 note 3, Noreen, Ark. f. nord. Fil. III p. 14, Hellquist ibd. IV p. 291.

M. E. erten 'to incite, urge on, encourage, to be eager, prone' Metr. Hom., D. Troy, Pr. P., Gaw. and Gol., N. E. dial. ert 'to urge onward, incite': O. W. Scand. erta 'to taunt, tease', Swed. dial. erta 'to tease'.') The alleged O. E. erta sb. 'incitation' on the Franks casket is most doubtful (Grienberger, ZfdPh. XXXIII p. 416).

M. E. efne, evin, euen 'ability, nature, material' A. R., Hom. I 187, Hom. II 137, P. S. 157, C. M. 335 etc.: O. W. Scand. efni 'material, means, fortune, chance', O. Swed. æmpne (< ævne) 'material', Dan. evne 'ability, power'.

M. E. farand 'pleasing, handsome' Gaw., A. P., Barb., N. E. dial. farand, farrand in combination with other adj. 'fashioned, conditioned, seeming', also 'well-behaved, decent, becoming' (E. D. D.), best farand man 'best looking man' Pegge, Derbicisms p. 21; farantly 'orderly, respectably': O. W. Scand. fara 'to have a special appearance', illa farandi 'ugly', best farandi 'handsomest', etc. In Dial. Prov. p. 8f. I have assumed the word to be of West Scandinavian introduction.

Late O. E. feolaza Chr. D. 1016, M. E. felaze, félawe (see N. E. D.), N. E. fellow: O. W. Scand. félagi, O. Swed. fælaghe. Cf. Steenstrup, Danelag p. 296, Kluge, Grundr. I p. 933, Kluge-Lutz s. v. fellow.

M. E. felen 'to hide' M. H., A. P., D. Arth., Townl. Myst., N. E. dial. feal 'to hide, conceal' (Irel., Nhb., Cum., Dur., Wm.,

¹⁾ Swed. reta 'to taunt, tease' does not show metathesis from erta, as is assumed by Flom, Scand. Influence on Southern Lowland Scotch p. 25, but is identical with O. W. Scand. reita, Germ. reizen.

Yksh., Lancsh., Chsh.): O. W. Scand. fela, O. Swed. fiæla 'to hide'. O. E. fēolan 'to stick fast, to reach, enter, attain' seems to be equivalent in form, but the different sense shows that it is not the origin of the M. E. word. Sievers, Ags. Gr. § 218, 1, 387 Anm. 4 translates O. E. fēolan with 'verbergen', but I know no use of the word in which such a sense is certain.

M. E. fīle 'a worthless person (male or female); a rascal' C. M., Hav., R. Br. Chron.: O. W. Seand. fýla, mannfýla 'objectionable person' (cf. Swed. dial. fyle 'mob, worthless people'). The Scand. word is a deriv. of the adj. O. W. Scand. fúll 'objectionable, loathsome, ugly', Swed., Dan. ful (= N. E. foul). Bradley, N. E. D., thinks the word may be a variant form of vile used absolutely. I think my explanation solves all difficulties. Besides, the northern occurrence of the word (also in N. E. dialects) points to Scand. origin. The expression that fūle fīle, Hav. 2499, suggests connexion with the adj. foul.

O. E. fylc(i)an 'collect, marshal (army)' Chron. 1066: O. W. Scand. fylkja 'to arrange the troops before a battle', O. Swed.

fylkia vb. (not quite sure), fylkning sb.

M. E. flütten, flitten 'to flit, carry, migrate' Orrm., Marh., A. R., Pr. P. etc.: O. W. Scand. flytja, O. Swed. flytia, Dan. flytte 'to remove'. Cf. Brate, P. B. B. X p. 41, and above p. 184 foot-note. The word occurs only in Scand. and English.

M. E. frizzenn 'to calumniate' Orrm., frie Hav. 1998, M. E. frēlēs (for frielēs?) 'blameless' A. P. I 431: O. W. Scand. frýja 'to defy, challenge, taunt', frýjulaust 'blamelessiy'. See above p. 117.

M. E. frope sb. 'froth', fropen vb. See above p. 162, 191.

Only in English and Scandinavian.

M. E. galte 'a boar or hog' D. Arth. 1101, Alex. (Sk.) 4743, Wr. Voc. 669, 35, Pr. P. 185, N. E. dial. galt 'a boar, pig, hog' : O. W. Scand. goltr, O. Swed. galter, Dan. galt 'boar, male pig'. Related words are to be found in all Teutonic languages; but none exactly corresponding to those here mentioned as to sense and formation is found outside Scand. and English. O. H. G. galza, the word nearest akin, means sucula.

M. E. gilte 'sow' Wr. Voc. 669, 36, Pr. P. 194, N. E. dial. gilt 'a young sow': O. W. Scand. gylta, gyltr, O. Swed. gylta, O. Dan. gyltæ. O. E. zilte (Wr. Voc. 119, 25) is probably from a base

*galtiō- (cf. M. E. zelte above p. 150 foot-note) and, in this case, is not the source of the M. E. gilte, as its Anglian correspondence would have been O. E. *zelte. Cf. Björkman, Arch. CI p. 394 foot-note 3.

M. E. gymbure, gymbyre 'gargia, bidua, young sheep' Wr. Voc. 638, 36, 698, 23, N. E. dial. gimmer, gimmel 'a young female sheep': O. W. Scand. gymbill 'lamb', gymbr 'young female sheep', Dan. gimmerlam, Swed. dial. gimber, gimmer 'young female sheep'. The Scand. forms in y which represent the ablaut u have prevented me from treating the word in the preceding chapter. Still Scand. origin is unmistakable.

M. E. glam 'noise' Gaw., A. P., Alex. (Sk.) 5504, N. E. dial. glam 'noise': W. Scand. glam, glamm 'noise', O. Swed., Dan.

glam. Only in English and Scandinavian.

M. E. golf 'heap of sheaves' Pr. P. 202, golven 'to stack corn' Pr. P. 202 (cf. Palsgrave: goulfe of corne, so moche as may lye betwene two postes, otherwyse a baye), N. E. dial. goaf (Yksh., Linesh., Nhp. e. Angl.) 'a rick of corn or hay, laid up in a barn', goave (Linesh., e. Angl.) 'to lay up corn in a barn': Norw. dial. golv 'the space between two posts in a rack for drying corn (called a "hesja"), containing about a cart-load of corn, partition of a barn' (Aasen, Ross), Swed. dial. golv, Dan. dial. gulv 'part of a barn where the unthreshed corn is put'. Cf. L. G. gulf 'Scheunenfach' (Doornk. Koolm.).

M. E. gres, gers, gris, girs Orrm., Gen. and Ex., C. M., Hav., Gaw., Ch., Hamp. Ps., Barb., Pr. P. etc.: Swed. gräs, Dan.

græs. See Björkman, Dial. Prov. p. 24 and foot-note.

M. E. grīm sb. 'grime, smut, soot' Hav. 2497,¹) grīmen vb. 'fuscare, fuliginare', quotation in N. E. D. of A. D. 1470, Cath. Angl., N. E. and dial. grime 'soot': O. Dan. grim sb. 'soot', grimæ vb. 'to cover with grime, to blacken', Swed. dial. grima 'spot or smut on the face', Norw. dial. grima 'streak of soot in the face'. But cf. M. Du. grimen 'zwart maken, bevuilen, bezoedelen', Flemish grijm, grijmsel 'zwartsel van rook'.

M. E. grīs 'a pig, esp. a young pig, a sucking pig' MSS. of

¹⁾ The combination of the word with gore (: sō it were grīm or gôre) shows the word to have been identical with N. E. grime. N. E. D. does not mention this passage, the oldest use of the word given there being of A. D. 1470.

A. R. (Morton's text has pigges), Wr. Voc., Langl. P. Pl., Av. Arth., L. C. C., Pr. P., N. E. dial. grise, grice: O. W. Scand. griss, Swed., Dan. gris 'a pig'.

O. E., M. E. grið 'peace, truce', see p. 163.

M. E. (on)grūfe 'face downwards, in a prone position' Sc. Troy-bk, Ch., D. Arth., Rom. Rose, see N. E. D.: O. W. Scand. á grūfū, O. Dan. pā gruv, Swed. dial. gruva, ā gruve 'grovelling'. Der. M. E. groveling, groveling(e)s adv. See N. E. D., Morris, Trans. Philol. Soc. 1862—63 p. 88 ff. This adv. may be an adoptation of O. Dan. gru(v)liggende 'liggende næsgrus', the latter part having been by way of popular etymology transformed into the E. suff. -ling, -ling(e)s (-long, -long(e)s), concerning the etym. of which see Ehrismann, P. B. B. XVIII p. 233.

M. E. gul(l), *gol- 'yellow, pale', gulnes, golnes 'paleness', gulsought, golsoght 'jaundice' (see p. 176) Ev. Nic. in Arch. LIII 392, E. E. Ps., Trev., Cath. Angl.: O. W. Scand. gulr, O. Swed. gol, gul, Swed., Dan. gul. I suppose the same Scand. adj. still survives in the dial. of Cumberland where we find a sb. gull or yellow gull meaning the plant Chrysantemum segetum (see

Prevost, A Glossary of the Dial. of Cumberland).

M. E. hazherr, hazer, hawur 'skilful, apt, elever, dexterous' Orrm., A. R., Pol. Songs. (Camd.) 155, Gaw., hazherrlezzk 'dexterity, skill', hazheliz, hazhelike adv. 'properly' Orrm., hazherliche, haz(h)erlike adv. 'aptly, skilfully' Orrm., A. P.: O. W. Seand. hagr 'handy, skilful', hagleikr 'skill in handieraft', hagliga 'skilfully, handily, conveniently', hagligr 'handy, skilful', O. Swed. hagher. Cf. above p. 17 and foot-note 2.

O. E. hamole, hamele sb. 'oar-thong, row-lock': O. W. Scand. hamla 'an oar-loop made of a strop or withe fastened to the

thole-pin'. Cf. Björkman, Dial. Prov. p. 9.

M. E. hank 'a circular coil or loop of anything flexible, a loop of string, wire or the like, used to fasten things together', quotation in N. E. D. of A. D. 1388, Cath. Angl., hanken vb. 'to fasten by a loop' Laz., C. M., Wiel., N. E. dial. hank sb. and vb. : O. W. Scand. honk sb., hanka vb., O. Swed. hank, Dan. hank. Only in Scand. and English. Jessen, Et. Ordb. s. v. Hank gives a L. Germ. hank, henk 'woran oder womit man etwas hängt', which is, however, unconnected.

M. E. hap sb. 'chance or good fortune, accidence, happening'

Laz, Kath., Jul., R. Gl., C. M., Gow., R. Br. Chr., Pr. P. etc., happen vb. 'to come about, happen' Alis., Ch., Langl. P. Pl. etc., haply adv. 'perhaps, by chance' Lang. P. Pl., happenen vb. 'to come to pass, to occur etc.' A. P., C. M., D. Troy, Alex. (Sk.) etc., happen adj. 'fortunate' A. P., Gaw., happily adv. 'in a happy manner' Langl. P. Pl., Will. Parl., happi adj. Hamp. Pr. C., C. M., Barb. Br., Pr. P. etc., see N. E. D.: O. W. Scand. happ 'good luck', happa 'to come about, happen', O. Dan. hap adj. 'fortunate', happelig 'fortunate', happe 'to obtain unexpectedly'. O. E. zehæp, -lic 'convenient', zehæplicnes f. 'convenience' are from the same root, but are not the source of the M. E. words, which are undoubtedly borrowed from Seand.

M. E. (hath adj., very doubtful, see N. E. D. V p. 117), hāð-ful 'scornful', hæþelig, hēþelich 'contemptuous', hæþen, hēþen 'to mock, scorn', hæþinng, hēþing 'scorn, derision'. See above p. 90, 163, N. E. D. V p. 258.

M. E. haver, havyr 'oats' Langl. P. Pl., A. VII 269 (MS. U. hauir cake), Langl. P. Pl., B. VI 284 (hauer cake), Wr. Voc. 726, 19, Cath. Angl., N. E. dial. haver: O. W. Scand. hafri, O. Swed. hafre, Dan. havre.

M. E. heming 'part of the skin of a deer' Trist 476: O. W. Scand. hemingr 'the skin of the shanks of an animal'. The word does not seem to occur in E. Scand. Cf. Björkman, Dial. Prov. p. 10.

M. E. hærnes, hernes, harnes 'brains', Sax. Chr. 1137, Hav., Gaw., A. P., Min., Barb., Townl. Myst., Pr. P., Wr. Voc. 635, 11, Cath. Angl. etc., N. E. dial. harns 'brains', comp. M. E. harne-panne 'skull' Hav., Rich. Coeur de Lion, D. Troy, Hamp., Wr. Voc. 675, 1, N. E. dial. harn-pan: O. W. Scand. hiarni, O. Swed. hiærne, Dan. hjerne.

M. E. hepen(n) adv. 'hence': O. W. Scand. heðan, O. Swed. hæpan. See p. 163.

M. E. hevenen vb. 'avenge' M. H. XVI, D. Troy 2082, hevening sb. 'vengeance' York XXXII 284, M. S. in Halliw. p. 447: O. W. Scand. hefna, O. Swed. hæmpna (<*hæfna), Dan. hevne 'to avenge'.

M. E. hittan 'come upon, find' Chr. 1066, M. E. hitten 'hit, fall upon, touch' Laz., M. S. of A. R., Langl. B., A. P., Pr. P. etc.

: O. W. Scand., O. Swed. hitta, Dan. hitte 'to fall upon, find, meet'.

M. E. hōf, hōve sb. 'measure, moderation' Orrm., C. M., Hamp., Pr. C., hōflēs, hōflēs Orrm., A. R., Marh.: O. W. Scand. hóf, O. Swed. hōf 'moderation'.

O. E. husbonda, -bunda, M. E. husbonde sb. 'the master of a house, a man joined to a woman by marriage; cultivator, tiller, husbandman, etc.', M. E. husbanden vb. 'to till the ground, to cultivate etc.' (see N. E. D.): O. W. Scand. húsbóndi 'housemaster, husband', O. Swed. husbonde 'house-master', O. Dan. husbonde 'master of a house, husband'. Cf. O. E. bonda, M. E. bonde above p. 205.

O. E., M. E. hūscarl 'a member of the body-guard or house-hold troops of a king or noble': O. W. Seand. húskarl. Cf.

carl p. 141 foot-note 3.

O. E., M. E. husting 'an assembly for deliberative purposes, a court held in the Guildhall of London' Chron. 1012, Laz. etc.: O. W. Scand. húsping 'a counsel or meeting'. See Steenstr. p. 175—180, A. Bugge, De Norske Byers Selvstyre p. 103, N. E. D.

M. E. immess adv. 'variously' Orrm.: O. W. Scand. ýmiss 'alternate, various', O. Swed. omse. As for the mm, see Björkman, Dial. Prov. p. 12 (foot-note to p. 11), p. 28.

M. E. ipen adj. 'diligent', ipenlī adv., Scotch ithandly etc., Flom p. 49: O. W. Scand. iðinn, O. Swed. ipin. Cf. above p. 163.

M. E. calf 'calf of the leg' Pr. P., Ch. : O. W. Scand. kalfi, 'the calf of the leg', Swed. dial. (ben)kalv (Rietz).

O. E. ceallian 'to shout' Byrhtn., M. E. callen 'to call' Marh., Gen. and Ex., Best., Hav., C. M., A. P., Barb. Br. etc. (not in the Orrm.), calle sb. C. M.: O. W. Scand., O. Swed. kalla, Dan. kalle (= O. H. G. kallôn 'sprechen, schwatzen', M. L. G. kallen 'sprechen, sich unterreden', Dutch kallen). k is no test of loan (see p. 141 foot-note 3), but in Kentish and other southern dialects we should, if the word had occurred there in O. E. as a native word, have to expect the form *challen, as is proved by Kent. chalf, chāld, chalk and by the analogy of M. E. zalle 'bile' Vices and Virtues, Arth. and Merl. 1) The word was

¹⁾ Concerning the O. E. development of West Teut. a before ll or l+ cons., see Bülbring, Altengl. Elementarbuch § 134, and concerning the

originally northern, which fact points to Scand. origin. The O. E. spelling ceallian (Byrhtn.) is due to the W. Sax. orthography and does not prove the existence of a native "broken" form, which would have given M. E. challen. O. E. -calla in the compound hilde-calla 'warherald' Exod. is presumably a native word.

O. E. carl-fugol, carl-man, huscarl Kluge, Grundr.² I p. 932, Steenstr. p. 96, M. E. carl 'a man', kerling 'old woman' C. M. etc., see N. E. D. and p. 140; the native form shows another ablaut: O. E. ceorl, N. E. churl.

M. E. carpen vb. 'to speak, talk', carp sb. 'talk' Hom. I 287, C. M., A. P., Wyel., Ch., Langl. P. Pl. B. etc., N. E. dial. carp 'to talk': O. W. Scand. karp n. 'boasting, bragging', Swed. dial. karpa vb. 'to boast, brag'. Cf. above p. 141, foot-note 3.

M. E. casten, see p. 142. Only in Scand. and English, as North Fries. kastin (Outzen) is, no doubt, the Danish word.

N. E. dial. keld 'a spring': O. W. Scand. kelda, O. Dan. kelde, Swed. källa. Cf. p. 141 foot-note 3.

M. E. ket 'flesh' above p. 142. Seand. origin is also made likely by the fact that the word is only found in Seand. and English.

M. E. cleg Cath. Angl., N. E. dial. cleg 'a horse-fly, gadfly': O. W. Scand. kleggi, Swed. dial. klägg, Dan. klæg 'a gadfly'. Cf. above p. 36 foot-note. M. E. clag 'to bedaub', clagged 'sticky' Alex. (Sk.) 5427 (see N. E. D.), N. E. dial. clag 'to stick, cause to adhere' (E. D. D.) is, no doubt, a related word of Scand. origin; cf. Dan. klagge 'sticky mud', (Dansk Ordbog) klæg 'loam, clay' (Jessen, Dansk Etym. Ordb.).

M. E. clint 'a hard or flinty rock' C. M., Alex. (Sk.): O. W. Seand. klettr 'rock' (<*klintar), Dan., Swed. klint 'rock'.

O. E. cnearr 'small warship' Chr.: O. W. Seand. knorr, O. Dan. knarr (Kalkar). See Kluge, Grundr.² I p. 932. ea is due to the influence of the West-Saxon orthography.

M. E. craulen, creulen 'to crawl' C. M.: O. W. Scand. krafla, Swed. krafla, Dan. kravle, Swed. dial. krävla 'to crawl' (Hellquist, Ark. f. Nord. fil. XIV p. 45). Cf. above p. 76. The phonology

development of O. E. z, c before O. E. all, eall etc., see Bülbring § 492 Anm. 1 and § 493 Anm.

of the by-forms croulen, crulen (in MSS. of C. M.) is somewhat obscure. creulen is from a Scand. groundform *krefla (= Swed. dial. krävla). croulen my be from crau(e)len; cf. M. E. gowl,

govel, novil, noule above p. 77, foot-note 1.

M. E. crike 'a narrow recess or inlet in the coast-line of the sea; an armlet of the sea, a cleft in the face of a rock, crack, fissure, the anal cleft, rima podicis' Gen. and Ex., Hav., Ch., Pr. P., Barb. Br.: O. W. Scand. kriki 'crack, nook', handar-kriki 'the armpit', Swed. dial. krik 'bend, nook, small meadow, small creek or bay', armkrik, ärmkrik 'the armpit', ögonkrek 'the corner of the eye', O. Dan. laarkrig 'the groin'. As in Scand. the word is often used of parts of the body, the Scand. origin of crike 'rima podicis' Hav. 2450 (: and caste him on a scabbed mêre, his nêse went unto the crike: so ledden he pat fūle swike) is unmistakable. The M. E. localization of the word favors the Scand. origin also in the other senses. Late M. E. crēk (see N. E. D.) may be from Dutch kreek 'creek, bay'. Another explanation is given by Luick, Unters. p. 289.

N. E. cow vb. 'to depress with fear, to oppress with habitual timidity': O. W. Seand. kúga 'to compel, oppress', Dan. kue, Swed. kufva (< O. Swed. *kūgha). I give this unmistakable loan-word here, although it is not recorded in M. E.

M. E. cwie 'heifer' Wr. Voc. 698, 13, 15 : O. W. Scand. kviga,

Swed. kviga, Dan. kvie.

M. E. lape sb. 'barn': O. W. Scand. hlaða, O. Swed. lapa. See above p. 164. Scand. origin is not to be doubted.

M. E. leg sb. 'leg, tibia' Laz. B., R. Gl., Alis., Ch., A. P. : O. W. Scand. leggr (gen. leggjar), O. Swed. lægger, Dan. læg. The etymology of the Scand. word is given by Lidén, P. B. B. XV p. 517, Bezz., Beitr. XXI p. 94. If the word were native, we should have the right to expect to find a form *ledge in Mod. Engl. or in some E. dialect. Cf. above p. 156 f.

M. E. læte, lēte 'looks, behaviour, etc.', see above p. 91.

M. E. ling 'ling, heather' Anc. Metr. Tales, ed. Hartshorne p. 189, Sir Degr. 336, Pr. P. 305: O. W. Sand. lyng, Swed. ljung (<*lingw-), Dan. lyng.

M. E. lið 'fleet, help etc.', see p. 164.

M. E. loghe, lowe sb. 'fire' Orrm., M. S. of A. R., Gen. and Ex., Pr. C., Pr. P. etc., lowen vb. 'to flame' Gaw., Sir Degr.,

Alex., Pr. P., N. E. dial. lowe: O. W. Scand. logi sb., O. Swed. lughi, loghi sb., lugha, logha vb., Swed. låge, låga sb., låga vb., Dan. lue sb., vb. Cf, Zupitza, Arch. LXXVI p. 211, Gerken p. 44, Brate p. 50.

M. E. love 'hand, palm' A. P., Alex., Townl., N. E. dial. loof (Northern) 'palm of the hand', Wall p. 111: O. W. Scand. loft,

O. Swed. $l\bar{o}ve$ 'the flat of the hand' (= Goth. $l\bar{o}fa$).

M. E. luggen 'to lug, drag', to luggen 'drag about' Gow., Dep. R., Langl P. Pl., Lidg.: Norw. dial., Swed. lugga 'to pull the hair of'. Cf. Storm, E. Ph.² I p. 515.

M. E. lund 'nature, disposition' Orrm. 7038: O. W. Scand. lund 'nature, disposition', O. Swed. lund, Dan. (nogen)lunde,

(ingen)lunde.

M. E. mēoc, mēk 'meek' Orrm., Kath., Jul., Marh., A. R., R. Gl., Hav., Pr. C. etc., mēoken, mēken 'render meek' Orrm., A. R., A. P., Pr. P. etc.: O. W. Seand. mjúkr 'soft, meek', O. Swed. miūker, Dan. myg (<*miūk-), related to Goth. mūka-(mōdei) 'sanftmut'.

M. E. midding 'midding, dunghill' Pall. I 750, Pr. C. 628, Townl. 30; Dan. modding 'dunghill' < *mykdyngja; ef. O. W. Scand. mykr, myki 'dung, manure', dyngja sb. 'heap', O. Swed. myk in the compound nota myk 'muck of cattle', dyngia 'heap, dunghill'.

M. E. morknen 'to rot' A. P. II 407: O. W. Scand. morkna, Swed. murkna.

M. E. neve 'fist' Perc., Hav., A. P., D. Troy., Barb., Flor., York., N. D. dial. neaf, neave: O. W. Scand. hnefi, O. Swed. nævi, O. Dan. næve.

M. E. nīten 'to deny' L. H. R. 121, C. M. 883, Barb., Alex. (Sk.) 1460 : O. W. Scand. nita 'to deny'.

O. E., M. E. nīðing 'infamous man, villain' is, no doubt, from the Scand. nīðingr in common use in all O. Scand. languages. Cf. above p. 164.

O. E. norrene 'Norwegean' Chr. 1066 : O. W. Scand. norrønn

< norðrónn. Cf. Kluge, Grundr.2 I p. 934.

M. E. niitten, nitten 'use, enjoy' Orrm., A. R., Hav. etc. : O. W. Scand. nytja 'mulgere', O. Swed. nytia 'use, enjoy'. Cf. Brate, P. B. B. p. 585.

M. E. olm 'cruel, fierce' Horstmann, Samml. ae. Leg. p. 152

: O. W. Scand. olmr 'tilbøielig til fiendligt Overfald', Norw. dial. olm 'hidsig, arrig', Dan. olm, Swed. dial. olm (Rietz p. 484). The word is probably connected with Goth. wulan 'sieden' (cf. Jessen, Dansk et. Ordb. p. 176), and if this be right, it belongs to the class of words treated above p. 177 ff.

M. E. ornen 'warm, enrage; droop, sink, shrink' D. Troy (constantly written ournen)1): O. W. Scand. orna 'to warm, make warm, to grow hot', ornask 'to become warm, touched', O. Swed. orna, urna, Swed. dial. orna 'taga värme, blifva unken (om säd), komma sig efter sjukdom eller svimning etc.' (Rietz p. 489, Lindgren, Burtr. p. 112).

O. E., M. E. orreste Chr. 1096, Orrm. (Kluge, Grundr.² I p. 934, Steenstrup p. 226 f., Brate p. 52): O. W. Scand. orrosta, O. Swed. orasta, oresta, oræsta.

M. E. rad(d), red 'afraid' Orrm., Gaw., A. P., Alex. (Sk.) etc.: O. W. Scand. $hr \acute{e}ddr$ (p. pple of $hr \acute{e}da$ 'to frighten'), Swed. $r\ddot{a}dd$, Dan. red. Cf. Brate p. 53.

M. E. rip 'peat-basket' Hav. 893, (dat. rippe, rime-word kippe): O. W. Scand. hrip 'Kurv, Kløvkurv, som anvendes ved Førsel af noget paa Hesteryggen'.

M. E. rōs sb. 'praise' Orrm., C. M., Gaw., H. S., rōsen vb. 'to praise, glorify' Orrm., C. M., A. P., M. H., Pr. C., Townl., N. E. dial. reouse, rose etc. 'to praise' Wall p. 115, Flom p. 58: O. W. Scand. hrós sb. 'praise', hrósa 'to praise', O. Swed. rōs sb., rōsa vb., Dan. ros sb., rose vb.

M. E. roten 'rotten, putrid' M. S. of A. R., Langl. P. Pl., Ch., De Erk., H. S.: O. W. Seand. rotinn, O. Swed. rutin, O. Dan. roten. Cf. the native O. E. rotian, M. E. rotien, roten vb., p. pple roted 'to rot, become putrid' (= O. H. Germ. rozên, M. L. G. roten etc.). Concerning the relationship between N. E. rot and rotten see Luick, Arch. CII p. 54.

M. E. rugged adj. 'rugged' Ar. and Merl. 1501, Pr. P. 439, ruggi 'hairy' Ch., Pall., N. E. rug etc.: O. Swed. ruggoter 'rugosus, tuberosus', Swed. dial. rugget, Swed. ruggig, Norw. dial. rugga 'a rug of rough cloth'; see above p. 35, foot-note 2.

M. E. same adj. 'same' Orrm., Langl. P. Pl., Barb. etc.

¹) Perhaps the M. E. form was rather *ūrnen*; cf. O. Swed. *urna*, Ryd-qvist VI p. 489.

: O. W. Seand. enn sami 'the same', Swed., Dan. den samme. Cf. Zupitza in Koch's Gramm. II § 336, Schleich, Arch. CI p. 425. The M. E. word cannot be from O. E. sam . . . sam 'whether . . . or', O. E. swā same 'similarly, also' or from O. E. samen 'together'. The latter, only found in late Northumbrian, may, as well as M. E. samen 'together' (Orrm., Hav., Gen. and Ex. etc.), be from O. W. Scand., O. Swed. saman, O. Dan. samen.

M. E. sēme 'befitting, decent' Gaw., A. P., seme(lich), sēme(lī) 'seemly' Gen. and Ex., Gaw., A. P. II 816, Ch., Alex. (Sk.), Pr. P. etc., sōmlich 'proper, right' A. R. 94, sēmen 'to befit, be becoming, suit, seem' Laz., Orrm., Hav., Langl. P. Pl., Alex. (Sk.) etc.: O. W. Seand. sómi sb. 'honour', sómr 'becoming, fit', sómiligr 'becoming', sóma 'to honour, to bear with, submit, conform to', Dan. sømme sig 'to be fit, to become', sømmelig 'fit, decent, becoming' (cf. Jessen, Dansk et. Ordb.). O. E. sēman meant 'to bring to an agreement, settle, satisfy, arbitrate' (cf. O. E. sōm f. 'concord, reconciliation', zesōm 'unanimous, reconciled') and is not the source of the M. E. word.

M. E. on slante, on slonte, oslante, aslante 'aslant, in a slanting or sloping direction' C. M., Trevisa, D. Arth., Pr. P., N. E. slant 'to slope', M. E. slenten 'glide, fall, slope' Hall. 711, Am. and Amil. 2279, Gaw.: Norw. dial. slenta 'to slope' (Ross), Swed. slant adj. 'slippery', Dan. dial. slante 'to stagger' (Molb., Dial.-Lex.), Swed. dial. slänta 'to glide', also 'ge ett slag, som lätt halkar förbi'. The form slonte need not necessarily contain an original a as there are forms with the ablaut u in Scand. e. g. Dan. dial. slunt 'en Vogns slingrende Bevægelse, foraarsaget ved at Hjulene paa den ene Side gaa i dybe Spor eller Slag' (Molb., Dial.-Lex.). The by-form aslet Pr. P. is perhaps an error for aslent.

M. E. slēh, slēz, slei, slī etc. Orrm., Hav., Gaw., Ayenb., Pr. C., Ch., Pr. P. etc., N. E. sly 'sly, clever', M. E. slēzh, sleizh etc. Langl. P. Pl., A. P., Gaw., Ayenb., Ch., Pr. P. etc., N. E. sleight: O. W. Scand. slógr 'sly, cunning', O. Swed. slōgher 'skilful, clever', O. W. Scand. slógð sb. 'cunning, slyness', O. Swed. slōghþ 'skill'.

M. E. slīke 'such', see p. 147.

M. E. slok(e)nen, sloken 'to quench, extinguish, stop, extinguo' Gaw., M. H., Hamp. Ps., Townl. M., Pr. P., N. E. dial.

slocken 'to quench' Wall p. 120, Scotch sloke, sloken Flom p. 62: O. W. Scand. slokna 'to get extinguished, expire, die', Swed. slockna. See above p. 16 (foot-note to p. 15).

M. E. slop sb. 'track', see 165.

M. E. asloute, aslowte 'aslant' Pr. P., Babees Bk., according to N. E. D. possibly erroneously for aslont, is in my opinion from the Scand. word-stem represented by O. W. Scand. slúta 'to project, hang down' (cf. O. W. Scand. slota 'to hang down, droop'), O. Swed. slūt(er) adj. 'sloping' (or adv. slūt), Swed. slutta (< slūta, see Noreen, Svenska etymologier p. 48) 'to slope, slant'.

M. E. spac adj. 'active, ready, wise, quiet' Hom. II 183, A. P. III 169, H. S. 319, King of Tars 774, spacliche 'readily' Spec. 37, Langl. P. Pl., Will. 3357, A. P. III 338, N. E. dial. spak 'apt to learn, ingenious', kenspack 'conspicuous, evident' Wall p. 108, 121: O. W. Scand. spakr 'quiet, gentle, wise, prudent', O. Swed. spaker 'wise, quiet, gentle, peaceful', Dan. spag, O. Swed. kænne-spaker etc. The by-form sprac is probably native. But cf. the rare O. W. Scand. sparkr which seems to have meant 'wise'.

M. E. stac sb. 'stack' Hav. 814, Man. (F.) 14690, Pr. P. ('acervus'), stakken vb. 'stack': O. W. Seand. stakkr sb. 'stack, heap, pile', Swed. stack, Dan. stak sb.; Swed. stacka vb., Dan. stakke vb. are late formations from the sb. The Seand. word has also been introduced into Gaelic, see Craigie, Ark. f. nord. fil. X p. 149 f.

M. E. stangen vb. 'to sting, prick' C. M. 12528, Pr. C. 5293, Hamp. Ps., L. H. R. 117, stange sb. 'sting' C. M. 693, N. E. dial. stang 'to throb with pain' (Hall., Wall p. 122): O. W. Scand. stanga 'to sting, prick, (of cattle) to assault with the horns', Swed. stanga, Dan. stange 'cornu ferire'. The word is from the root sting and probably akin to M. E. stange 'a pole', German Stange. Cf. M. H. G. stange 'Horn, Geweih'. A third ablaut is represented by M. H. G. stunge 'Stachel, Antrieb, Anreizung'.

M. E. star sb. 'sedge, carex' Hav. 939, Pr. P. 64, 472, N. E. dial. star, stare sb. 'coarse grass' (Wall p. 122): O. W. Scand. storr f., Swed. starr, Dan. stærgræs.

M. E. steorrne, sterrne, sterne 'star' Orrm., C. M., Hav., Man. (F.), M. H. 95, Minot etc., Scotch stern, starn Flom p. 65: O. W. Scand. stiarna, O. Swed. stiærna, Dan. stjerne; cf. Goth. staírnô,

O. H. G. stërno. The local distribution of the word favours Scand. origin.

O. E. stör 'strong, violent' Chron. 1085, M. E. stör 'strong, great' Laz., O. and N., Gen. and Ex., Hav., Gaw., Fl. and Bl., Iw., Ant. Arth., Pr. P.: O. W. Scand. stórr, Swed., Dan. stor 'great, large'. Cf. O. Fries. stor 'gross' (Richthofen).

M. E. stiinten, stinten, stenten 'to stint, cease, stop' Orrm., Laz., A. R., Langl. P. Pl., Ch. etc., N. E. stint vb. 'to limit, restrain, cut short', stunted adj. 'hindered in growth': O. W. Scand. stuttr 'short, limited', stytta 'to cut short' (tt < nt), Norw. dial. stytta, O. Swed. stunter, Swed. dial. stunt 'short, small', O. Swed. stynta 'to stint, cut short', Swed. dial. stynt upp 'make shorter', Dan. dial. stunte, stynte (Molb., Dial.-Lex.). O. E. stunt, M. E. stunt 'stupid, foolish', styntan 'to stupefy' are native identical words.

M. E. sum(m) 'as, soever' Orrm., Laz., C. M., Iw., Amad., Shor., Egl.: O. Swed., O. Dan. sum, Swed., Dan. som. Cf. Brate p. 59, Dial. Prov. p. 25. The word is distinctly East Scand.

M. E. swale 'shed, awning, umbraculum' M. T. 43, Pr. P. 481, N. E. dial. swale 'shade, a shady place' Wall p. 123: O. W. Scand. svalar f. pl. 'a covered walk at the side of a building', svali 'coolness', svalr adj. 'cool', O. Swed. sval 'cool', svali sb., Swed., Dan. svale 'covered walk'.

M. E. swange sb. 'loins' Gaw. 138, D. Arth. 1129: O. W. Seand. svangi 'loins', Swed. dial. svange, Dan. svange.

M. E. swonge 'gracilis, slender, gaunt' Pr. P. 189, 484: O.W. Scand. svang-r 'thin, emaciated, starved', O. Swed. svang-er 'thin, slender', Swed. dial. svång(er) 'thin, slender, hungry', Dan. svang 'barren'. O. H. G. swangar, Dutch swanger 'pregnant', O. E. swangor 'sluggish' are probably different words, see Kluge, Et. Wb.6 p. 357, Zupitza, Germ. Gutt. p. 139, 216; otherwise Noreen, Urg. Lautlehre p. 184. The Scand. words are akin to O. E. swancor 'pleant, supple', M. H. G. swank, N. H. G. schwank 'thin, slender'.

M. E. swīðen 'burn, light up' Ps., Rel. I 210, A. P. III 478, forswīðen 'burn up' MS. of A. R. 306: O. W. Scand. svíða, O. Swed. svīþa 'to burn, singe', Dan. svide. Cf. above p. 166.

O. E., M. E. taken (prt. tok) vb. 'to take' Chron. (Kluge,

Grundr.² I p. 934), ¹) Orrm., Laz., Gen. and Ex., C. M., Ayenb., A. P., Gaw. etc.: O. W. Scand., O. Swed. taka, Dan. tage (= M. Dutch taken 'grijpen, nemen' Franck, Wb. 996, L. Germ. taken 'fassen, greifen' Doornk.-Koolm., akin to Goth. tēkan). The stem also appears in O. E. wēpenzetæc, -tac (Steenstr. p. 85, Kluge, Grundr.² I p. 935, above p. 12). In North. the word displaces rather early the native niman, cf. Luick, Arch. CII p. 72.

M. E. tahen vb. 'stercoro', N. E. dial. tath, see p. 166.

M. E. telwen 'cut, chop, reseco' Pr. P. p. 488: O. W. Scand. telgja 'to shape, hew', O. Swed. tælghia 'to cut, hew'. As for the transition of Scand. lgi > lw, cf. N. E. billow < Scand. bylgia.

M. E. terne 'tarn, lake' A. P. II 1041, D. Troy 11187, tarne Av. Arth., N. E. and dial. tarn 'mountain lake' (Wall p. 124): O. W. Scand. tjorn 'tarn, small lake, pool', Swed. tjärn 'a small lake in a forest'.

M. E. til (and comp. in-, on-, until) prep. and conj. 'to, till' Chr., Orrm., Hav., Gen. and Ex., Ch., Pr. C., Langl. P. Pl. etc.: O. W. Scand., O. E. Scand. til (= O. Fris. til). Although the word occurs also in early O. E. [Cædmon's Hymn and Ruthwell Cross²)], the distribution of the M. E. word favours Scand. origin. Concerning the use of the word in M. Scotch, see Bearder, Diss. Giessen 1893—1894 p. 89 f.

M. E. tit 'quickly', N. E. dial. tite 'soon' (Wall p. 125), astite 'as soon' (E. D. D.): O. W. Scand. titt, O. Swed. titt, see above p. 19, Stratm.-Bradley p. 607.

M. E. $tr\bar{\varrho}$ vb. 'to believe' Hav. 2862 (rime-word $d\bar{\varrho}$, inf.), : Dan. tro, O. Swed. $tr\bar{\varrho}(a)$, Swed. tro. The word is distinctly East Scand., the O. W. Scand. form being $tr\acute{u}a$; cf. Morsbach in Schmidt's treatise Zur Heimatbestimmung des Havelok, Göttingen 1890 p. 52 f. As is proved by the rime-word $d\varrho$, the word cannot be from O. E. $tr\bar{u}wian$, $tr\bar{e}owan$ (cf. M. E. treowen, trowen). 3)

¹⁾ The quotation from Ælfr. Coll. given by Kluge (: ic betæce 'insequor feros') apparently represents another word : O. E. betæcan, see Sweet, A.-S. Dictionary.

²⁾ Ruthw.: f(\(\bar{u}\))s(\(\varphi\)) fearran cw(\(\bar{v}\))mu (\(\varphi\))ppil\(\varphi\) til \(\bar{u}\)num (according to Vietor, Die North. Runensteine p. 6).

³⁾ This word may quite as well have been given in the preceding chapter, as the v-vowel is a sort of phonetic loan-word test.

- M. E. parrnenn, parnen 'to lack, lose' Chr., Orrm., Hav., Pr. C., Av. Arth., Alex. (Sk.), Townl. M.: O. W. Scand. parfna, parna. See p. 15, 180, Kluge, Grundr.² I p. 934.
 - O. E. papan, M. E. pepen, see p. 67.
- O. E. pēneste 'service' Chr. 1054, pēonestman Chr. E. 656: O. W. Scand. pjónusta, Swed. tjänst, Dan. tjeneste (= O. H. G. dionôst, Germ. Dienst). Cf. Kluge, Grundr.² I p. 934, A. Bugge, De Norske Byers Selvstyre p. 88. Sweet, Stud. A.-S. Dict. gives an O. E. peznest which spelling may be due to the association of the word with pezn, peznian. Cf. above p. 38, foot-note 1.
- M. E. perne 'girl' Hav. 298, Shor. 63, H. S. 7354, Ayenb. 129 (pierne): O. W. Scand. perna, O. Swed. pærna, Dan. terne; cf. O. H. G. diorna, O. Sax. thiorna.
- M. E. thiggen 'to ask alms, beg' Pr. P. p. 28: Dan. tigge, Swed. tigga 'to beg'. Cf. Erdmann, P. B. B. XXII p. 433 footnote. O. E. piczan meant 'to take, receive, accept'. Cf. M. E. piggen in the same sense.
- M. E. $th\bar{\iota}ht$ 'firm, solid' Pr. P. p. 491, $t\bar{\iota}ht$ 'thick, dense' Will. of Palerne 66, Tor. (A.) 589, N. E. tight, N. E. dial. also thight Wall p. 124: O. W. Scand. $p\acute{e}ttr$, O. Swed. $p\bar{e}tter$, Swed. $t\bar{\iota}t$, Dan. tet ($<*p\bar{\iota}ht$ -). The current explanation (Skeat, Et. D., Kluge, Et. Wb.6 s. v. dicht) of the initial t- instead of th- as depending on the influence of Dan. tet, Swed. $t\bar{\iota}t$ is wrong, as the transition of p-> t- in these languages did not take place till the end of the 15th cy. and as the E. word is found with a t- much earlier (Will. of Pal. tigtly adv.). I presume that t-is due to the influence of some other word beginning with t-either owing to a similar sense (e. g. M. E. toht 'tight, firm') or to a frequent combination of the two words in the sentence. Perhaps we may assume the influence of the word $t\bar{\iota}gen$, $t\bar{\iota}en$ 'to tie'. The phrase $t\bar{\iota}gen$ or $t\bar{\iota}en$ thightly may easily have been altered into $t\bar{\iota}gen$ ($t\bar{\iota}en$) tightly.
- M. E. prave, preve 'bundle, number' Hall. 867, Langl. P. Pl. B., Townl. M., N. E. thrave: O. W. Scand. prefi, Swed. trafve, Dan. trave. See Dial. Prov. p. 6.
- M. E. prift 'trift, prosperity' P. L. S. XIV p. 70, Trist., H. S., Ch.: O. W. Scand. prift. Cf. M. E. prifenn, priven.

M. E. prifenn, priven 'to thrive' Orrm., Rob. Gl., Hav., K. Horn., Gaw., A. P., Langl. P. Pl. etc.: O. W. Scand. prifask 'to thrive', Swed. trifvas. Cf. Zupitza, Anz. f. d. A. II p. 15, Brate p. 61, Knigge p. 77. Pret. prāf, prof (O. W. Scand. preif[sk]) is, of course, formed on the pattern of the O. E. strong verbs of the 1st class.

M. E. *priisten*, *pristen*, *presten* 1) 'thrust, to push forcibly, press, pack' Leg. 22, Gen. and Ex., Hav., Wiel., Ayenb., Ch., Pr. P. etc. : O. W. Seand. *prýsta*, Norw. dial. *trysta* 'thrust, press'.

M. E. hweorrt, hwert, overhwert, hwertover, adj. 'across, athwart' Orrm., A. R., Hav., Gen. and Ex., Gaw., A. P. etc.: O. W. Scand. hvert neut. of the adj. hverr, Swed. tvärt, Dan. tvært. Cf. above p. 19.

M. E. ug sb. 'fear' Hom. I 209, uglī adj. 'horrid, frightful' Gen. and Ex., Sev. Sages, Ch., Iw., Pr. C., Pr. P., uglines sb. Pr. C., ugsome adj. D. Troy, uggen vb. 'shudder, feel horror', Apol., M. S. of A. R., Pr. C., Pr. P., ugging sb. 'horror' Gen. and Ex., Hamp. Ps., N. E. ugly, N. E. dial. ug 'to fear', hugsum 'horrible' etc.: O. W. Scand. uggr sb. 'fear', uggligr adj., uggsamligr adj., ugga vb. 'to frighten, be afraid', Swed. dial. ugg adj. 'frightful, horrid'.

M. E. um(m)be, um, ummbenn 'concerning, about, round' Orrm. etc. (often difficult to discern from the native southern $\ddot{u}mbe < 0$. E. ymbe): O. W. Scand. um, umb, O. E. Scand. um. Cf. Brate p. 62.

M. E. usell 'wretched, miserable' Orrm., N. E. dial. oosly, oozely 'miserable' Wall p. 113: O. W. Scand. úsæll, úsall, O. Swed. usal, usæl, Dan. us(s)el. See Brate p. 63.

Late O. E. ūtlaza 'outlaw, exul' Wr. Voc. 171, 31, 312, 27 etc., ūtlah 'outlawed' (Bosw.-Toller), ūtlazian 'to outlaw, banish' Chr. (formed from the former), M. E. ūtlaze, ūtlawe sb., ūtlazien, ūtlawen vb. (see Dictionaries): O. W. Scand. útlagi, útlaga, útlagr adj., útlagi sb., cf. Kluge, Grundr.² I p. 935.

M. E. wánd, wónd 'wand, rod' Orrm., Gen. and Ex., C. M., Trist. etc.: O. W. Scand. vondr, O. Swed. (gul)vander, Dan. vaand (= Goth. wandus).

¹⁾ The word is sometimes difficult to distinguish from M. E. prasten, presten < 0. E. præstan 'to twist, press'.

M. E. wande 'hesitation, doubt' C. M., wandrāp 'suffering' Orrm., wandrēpi 'misery, distress, peril' A. R., Marh., Laz., C. L., M. H., Alex. (Sk.) etc., wandsomā 'sorrowfully' D. Arth.: O. W. Scand. vandr 'difficult', vandi, vandræði 'difficulty', Dan. vaande, Swed. vanda 'anguish, distress'. Concerning the etymology, see v. Friesen, Skrifter utgifna af k. Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet i Upsala VII 2 p. 12. The word is thoroughly different from O. W. Scand. vandr 'evil, bad', cf. above p. 84, foot-note 1, v. Friesen p. 11 f.

M. E. wan(n)t, wont adj. and sb. 'lacking, deficient; want, deficiency' Orrm. 14398, A. R. 284, Wright Political Songs 341, Gaw.: wan(n)tsum(m) adj. 'poor' Orrm. 14824, M. H. XVIII, wan(n)ten(n), wonten 'to want, be lacking' Orrm., Kath., A. R., Gen. and Ex., Hav., Castel of Love, Gaw., Pr. C., Langl. P. Pl.: O. W. Scand. vanr 'lacking, wanting', neut. vant (cf. p. 19), the latter often used in phrases like var peim vettugis vant 'they wanted nothing', O. W. Scand. vanta vb. 'to want, lack', Norw. dial. vantas, O. Swed., Swed. dial. vanta vb., Dan. dial. vant adj. 'lacking, wanting', Dan. dial. vante, vantes vb.

M. E. weng, wing 'a wing' Orrm., Langl. P. Pl., Ch., A. R. (Mühe p. 23), R. Gl. etc.: O. W. Scand. véngr, Swed., Dan. vinge, see Dial. Prov. p. 6, 25.

M. E. wigt, wict 'brave, valiant' Laz., Hav., Barb., etc., see p. 19.

Late O. E. wrang sb. 'injustice, wrong' Kluge, Grundr.² I p. 935, M. E. wráng, wróng adj. and sb. Orrm., Poema morale, Laz., Hav., Langl. P. Pl., Ayenb., Bokenh., Pr. P. etc.: O. W. Seand. rangr (cf. Dial. Prov. p. 22), Swed. vrång, Dan. vrang, etymologically identical with, but differing in sense from, Dutch wrang, M. L. G. wrank adj. (see Franck s. v.) and akin to O. E. wranga, wrang 'hold of a ship' (possibly from Seand.), M. L. G. wrange 'gebogenes Krummholz, besonders im Schiffbau verwendet', O. W. Scand. rong, Swed. dial. vrang.

List II.

Words which may be looked upon as possibly borrowed from Scandinavian. 1)

M. E. almus, almos, almous C. M., Hamp. Pr. C., Metr. Hom., Pr. P., Cath. Angl. etc., N. E. dial. almous (E. D. D.), a doublet form to N. E. alms, very often has been explained by scholars as borrowed from Scandinavian or due to Scandinavian influence; cf. O. W. Scand. almusa, olmusa, O. Swed. almosa, almusa, early Dan. almose, almuse, but also almosse, almisse. This explanation of the word is — it seems to me — rather doubtful. The Scandinavian words are themselves loan-words — those with o, u in the second syllable probably from O. Sax. alamôsna (cf. Kahle, Die altn. Sprache im Dienste des Christentums p. 420); Dan. almosse, almisse is no doubt from O. E. We should consequently have to assume, that the O. Saxon word had been introduced into Scandinavian before the times of the invasion of England by the Northmen, which seems to me rather improbable.

M. E. anmbohht sb. 'handmaid, bondwoman' Orrm.: O. W. Seand. ambótt 'handmaid, bondwoman', O. Swed. ambut, ambot 'bondwoman' (also O. W. Seand. ambátt, O. Swed. ambat). According to Brate p. 32, 80, N. E. D., and others, this is a Seand. loan-word. The chief ground for this supposition is the o of the last syllable, as the O. E. word is ambiht, ambeht 'officer, attendant, servant, messenger'. This would then be a case of a Celtic word being introduced into English through Seandinavian.²) ht, instead of t(t), does not exclude Seand.

¹⁾ As has been pointed out before (p. 198), it is often impossible to draw any definite limits between List I and List II, and some of the words given in List II may perhaps quite as well have been given in List I. In List II I give some words generally held to be loan-words but which I feel inclined myself to look upon as native English words [e. g. O. E., M. E. ar(e)we 'arrow'], although I cannot prove them to be so. — Possible Scandinavian loan-words like M. E. ange, ball, band, N. E. doze etc., which are formed from word-stems, also represented by what are unquestionably native words, are, as a rule, given in List II.

²⁾ It is possible, however, that the word was introduced into Teutonic at such an early date that it belonged to the Scandinavian vocabulary before the Viking age, cf. Bremer, Ethnographie der germanischen Stämme § 53.

introduction, see above p. 173. I prefer to leave the question of the nearest origin of the word unsettled.

M. E. ange Orrm. 'trouble, affliction, anguish' is derived in the N. E. D. from O. W. Scand. *anga in pl. ongur 'straits, anguish'. The word contains the common Teutonic root which is to be found in Germ. eng adj., O. E. enge adj. 'narrow, causing anxiety, painful, severe', Goth. aggwus, O. W. Scand. engr, Swed. dial. âng 'narrow', O. Swed. ange 'shortness of breath'; I do not think it necessary to deduce the word from Scand., as it would be easily accounted for as a native formation of a native English word-root; the a-vowel is to be found also in the O. E. adv. ange 'anxiously': pā wæs pām cynge swīðe ange on his mōde 'then the king was greatly troubled in his mind' (Orosius).

M. E. ardagh, ardawe 'ploughing, the quantity of land that may be ploughed in a day' D. Troy, Cath. Angl.: Dan. ardagh ploughing'; cf. above p. 110, foot-note 1. M. H. G. artac, translated (wrongly?) by Lexer with 'Erntetag, Tagwerk zur Erntezeit', and M. H. G. ertac according to Lexer and the N. E. D. also used as a measure of land (= 'zwei Morgen') may be the same word.

O. E., M. E. ar(e)we 'arrow' has been derived from Scand. or, n. a. pl. orvar 'arrows' by Kluge, Paul's Grundr. I p. 932, Kluge-Lutz, E. Et. s. v. arrow, an opinion shared also by Köppel, Arch. f. d. Stud. d. Neueren Spr. CIV p. 29, who says concerning the word in question: "Bei dem Mangel von Belegen für *earwe und dem späten Auftreten des Wortes hat die Annahme der Entlehnung jedenfalls die Wahrscheinlichkeit für sich". As far as phonological views go, it is evident that the O. E. word may be quite as well a native as a borrowed by-form (with w < zw < hw, according to Sievers, P. B. B. V p. 149, Streitberg, Urg. Gr. § 122, Anm. 2) of O. E. earh 'arrow', which is admitted also by Köppel l. e. 1) And concerning the M. E. word, it is to be taken into consideration that it is, as a rule, ambiguous as to its O. E. groundform in as far as it may be quite as well from an O. E. earh as from an O. E. *earw-;

¹⁾ That no broken form *earwe is to be found in O. E., where the uses of the word are so rare, is, of course, a matter of no importance.

cf. N. E. farrow < O. E. fearh, N. E. marrow < O. E. mearh, J. Zupitza, Anz. f. d. Altert. II p. 10. The only point of view to be taken into account is, in my opinion, the time and the locality of the earliest uses of the word. And neither the time nor the locality of the earliest uses speak for Scand. origin. On the contrary, the use of the word in Eczbert's Penitence Laws IV § 28 (: zif hwylc man mid arwan deor ofsceote, MS. of the latter portion of the 11th cy.) renders the native origin of the word rather probable. Also the Aldhelm Gloss catapultas arewan (Haupt, Zschr. f. d. Altert. IX p. 505, cf. Napier, Anecd. Oxon. Med. and Mod. Ser. 11 p. 111) seems to point in the same direction, although in these glosses some Scand. loan-words seem to occur, e.g. ragg (see above p. 35 foot-note 2); also the Gloss framea arwan MS. Nero E. 1 (Napier No. 37) of the 11th cy., renders native origin probable. arewan Chron. 1083 could be a M. E. form, as the M. S. was written in the 12th ey. (cf. J. Zupitza l. c., E. Zupitza, Germ. Gutturale p. 63).

M. E. avelong 'oblongus' Pr. P. 17, E. E. dial. avelong, avelang: O. W. Scand, aflangr, Swed, aflang, Dan, aflang; Wall, Anglia XX p. 90 says concerning this word: "this seems to be the sole example of a Latin word (or of any foreign word) reaching us through Scand.". As it is hardly probable that a Latin word of this stamp could have found its way into English through Scandinavian, we have either to look upon the word as formed in Scandinavian independently of Latin, in which case it may be of Scandinavian introduction, or as a word coined on English ground on a Latin pattern. If the latter be the case, it is however curious that the word has not got the form *oflong, as there is no preposition or prefix *af known in English. It is also remarkable that, according to E. D. D., the word occurs nowadays only in the dialects of Yks., Linesh. and E. Anglia, in which dialects the Scand. loanwords are especially numerous.

M. E. bagge 'a bag, pouch, small sack' is generally derived from Scandinavian (O. W. Scand. baggi 'pack, bandle). Still the different sense-development of the word in Scandinavia'

¹⁾ See von Friesen, De germ. mediageminatorna (Upsala Universitets

and in England (see N. E. D.), in which latter country it was early spread over the whole territory, renders the native origin of the English word probable. Furthermore the less important fact may be noted that the word occurs also on the continent; see von Friesen p. 99 f.

M. E. bacbīten 'to slander, speak ill of', bacbītere 'a slanderer or secret calumniator' etc. (see N. E. D.): O. W. Scand. bakbitari sb. 'slanderer', bakbit sb. 'slander', Swed. dial. bakbitare sb., O. Dan. bagbide vb. The local distribution of the M. E. word does not speak against its Scand. origin.

M. E. backe 'vespertilio' Alex. and Did., Pr. P. etc., N. E. dial. backie 'the bat': O. Dan. natbakke 'the bat', Dan. aftenbakke, O. Swed. natbakka; as to the etymology of the Scand. word, see v. Friesen p. 100.

M. E. ball 'a globe or globular body' is hardly a Scand. loan-word as the stem is common Teutonic. That this stem was native also in English, is shown by O. E. beallucas 'testicles'. M. E. ball occurs for the first time in Lazamon and is not to be found in the Orrmulum.

M. E. balled, N. E. bald: O. Dan. bældet 'baldheaded, implumis', Dan. dial. bældet, Swed. dial. bälloter 'hairless', see Björkman, Dial. Prov. p. 26.

M. E. baltren 'to stumble about' A. P., D. Arth., N. E. dial. balter 'to tread heavily and clumsily, to do anything in a bungling way': Dan. dial. baltre 'to wallow, welter, tumble' and with another ablaut Dan. boltre, Swed. dial. bultra 'to wallow, tumble'.

M. E. band, bánd, bánd 'anything with which one's body or limbs are bound, chain, fetter, manacle etc.': O. W. Scand., O. E. Scand. band. The word occurred also in the O. Sax., O. Fris., O. H. G. and the stem also belonged to the prehistoric English vocabulary, as is proved by O. E. bend 'band, ribbon, bond, chain'. But the local distribution of the word (Orrm., C. M., Hamp., Cath. Angl. etc., see N. E. D.) renders its Scandinavian introduction very probable. — The length of the vowel does not speak against Scand. origin, see above p. 118.

Arsskrift 1897) p. 97 ff. In East Scandinavian the sense of the word had very little, if anything, in common with the English sense-development.

M. E. banke 'a raised shelf or ridge of ground, a bordering slope': Dan. banke 'a raised ridge of ground, a shelving elevation in the sea, a heap, dunghill' (Molbech, Dansk Ordbog), Dan. dial. banke 'a hill, a bank of clouds' (Feilberg), Swed. dial. bank 'a bank of clouds'; O. W. Scand. bakki 'ridge, eminence, hill' etc. is to a great extent the same word but may partly contain original kk and is in this case cognate with Dan. bakke, Swed. backe 'hillock, hill, ascent, acclivity', by most scholars erroneously assumed to have kk from nk (see von Friesen, Mediageminatorna p. 100). The first appearance of the word in the Orrm., A. P., Gaw. etc. as well as its senses ') point to its Scand. origin. Cf. N. E. D., Bugge, Paul and Braune's Beiträge XIII p. 168, Sweet, H. E. S.² p. 288.

O. E. barda 'rostrata navis': O. W. Scand. barði. Only in English and Scandinavian. Cf. above p. 160 and O. E. barþ 'light ship' above p. 162.

M. E. bark sb. 'bark, cortex': O. W. Scand. borkr, Swed., Dan. bark. The O. E. word for 'bark' was rind, and bark is not recorded until the 13th cy. (see N. E. D.). H. and L. German borke, L. G. barke may possibly be from Scandinavian (cf. Tamm, Et. Ordb. s. v. bark).

M. E. barme sb. 'brim, edge, verge' Alex. (Sk.) 4812: O. W. Scand. barmr 'brim, edge'. The word may — from an etymological point of view be identical with the comm. Teut. O. E. bearm 'bosom, lap', but the sense 'brim, edge, verge' seems to be from Scand. Cf. Skeat, Gloss. to Alex., Hennemann, Diss. Berl. 1889 p. 10, N. E. D. Still Mod. Dutch berm, Flemish barme 'heuvel, lange smalle hoogte', L. Germ. barm, berme 'Fuss (Sohle) des Deiches, aufgehäufte Erde' etc. (see Franck s. v. berm, Lübben) and French berme 'brim of a fosse' (from some Teutonic language) are to be taken into consideration as possibly making the assumption of the Scand. origin of the E. word unnecessary.

M. E. barn 'child', Scotch, Mod. E. bairn: Scand. barn 'child'. Although the word occurs in O. E. as a native word, it is probable that it was in M. E. mixed with the Scand. word.

¹⁾ But cf. the native M. E. bench also meaning 'bank or ridge of earth'.

Cf. N. E. D. The word is chiefly northern in the mod. E. dialects.

O. E. belt 'belt' Wr. Voc. 192, 15, 359, 6, M. E. belt is supposed by Pogatscher, Lehnworte p. 139, to be from Scand. (O. W. Scand. belti, O. Swed., O. Dan. bælte). But this is, of course, very doubtful.

M. E. berd 'the brim or margin of a vessel' Trev., Pr. P., N. E. D. derives it "directly from O. N. bard". In this case it would be difficult to account for the d and also for the a. I think the word is native although the sense may possibly be due to Scand. influence.

M. E. biker 'cimbium' Pr. P., N. E. dial. (Sc., Nhb., Cum., but also Som.) bicker 'a small wooden drinking-cup or bowl for holding food': O. W. Scand. bikarr, O. Swed. bikar, bikare, Dan. bæger. Scandinavian introduction is generally assumed; thus e. g. Sweet, H. E. S.² p. 303, Kluge, Et. Wb. s. v. Becher, Kluge-Lutz s. v. beaker. It would consequently be a Latin word introduced into English through Scandinavian. This seems to me very doubtful.

M. E. bliknen 'to turn pale, to shine' A. P., Pol. Rel. and L. Poems: O. W. Scand. blikna 'to become pale'. Cf. p. 15 above.

M. E. blose 'flame, torch' A. P. I 910: O. Swed. blos, blus, Dan. blus 'flame, torch'. But as the word-stem is common Teutonic (see Tamm s. v. bloss) this single M. E. use is not sufficient for the definitive assumption of Scand. origin.

M. E. bolke 'heap, cumulus' Pr. P. 43, N. E. bulk, see N. E. D.: O. W. Scand. búlki 'heap, cargo of a ship' (the length of the vowel is secondary), O. Dan. bulk 'a flaw in a vessel resulting from a knock', N. Dan. bulk 'protuberance, knot, clump, clod', Swed. dial. bulk 'knob, knot'.

M. E. brā, brō 'brae, hill-side, river-bank' R. Br. Chron., Barb. Bruce, Wyntown etc.: O. W. Scand. brá 'eye-brow', O. Dan. braa 'eye-lid'. The Scand. origin of the word is somewhat uncertain, see above p. 82, foot-note 1.

M. E. brake 'fern, bracken', Wr. Voc., Pr. P., brakebushe or fernebrake 'filicetum' Pr. P., N. E. brake, M. E. braken, bracken 'fern, filix' A. P., Cath. Angl., N. E. bracken: Dan. bregne, Swed. bräken (see Tamm s. v.). Scand. forms with an a-vowel are

not found, if the word is not identical with M. E. -brake 'a clump of bushes etc.', see next word. Cf. Swed. dial. brake 'reed', brakel 'ugly bushes, nettles, thistles, untidy-looking plants', brakä 'meadowsweet, Spiræa Ulmaria'. The Swedish words here mentioned are apparently connected with Swed. brak 'fragor', braka 'to crack' and evidently denote plants which crackle when dry. But Swed. bräken etc. may be of quite a different origin, see Tamm s. v.

M. E. -brake 'a clump of bushes, brushwood, or briers; a thicket' in the compound fernebrake 'filicetum' Pr. P., N. E. brake 'a copse, thicket': Swed. dial. brakar 'bushes' (cognate with L. Germ. braken pl. 'die dieksten Äste der Bäume, das Schlagholz', brak 'Strauch, Gestrüpp, bezw. allerlei wild und wirr durcheinander wachsendes Gesträuch (wie z. B. Brombeeren, wilde Rosen, Dornen und sonstiges Unterholz), welches man nur mit grosser Mühe durchdringen kann' (Doornkaat-Koolman). Cf. brake 'fern, bracken' above.

M. E. brace 'noise, outery' Orrm. : O. W. Scand. brak, Swed. brak, Dan. brag. But cf. O. E. zebræe in borda zebræe 'crashing of shields' Byrhtn.

M. E. brink 'the edge, margin, or border of a steep place, the edge of the land bordering a piece of water etc.', A. R. (M. S. Titus D. XVII), K. H., C. M., A. P., Wycl., Ch.; in mod. dialects to be found in Dur., Not., Lei., Nhp., War., Hrf., Cmb., e. An.: O. W. Scand. brekka 'slope, hill-side', Swed. brink 'descent of a hill', Dan. brink 'precipice, steepness' (= Dutch, M. L. G. brink 'edge of a field, grass-land, side of a hill, hill'). Probably from Scand., although perhaps native. Tamm, Et. Sv. Ordb., thinks that Swed. brink is a L. Germ. loan-word. This question is not easily decided.

M. E. brobbfall 'falling sickness, epilepsy' Orrm.: O. W. Scand. brotfall; cf. Brate, P. B. B. X p. 36. The question of the time of the transition pp > tt in Scandinavian is unsettled, but it is probable that pp underwent such a transition in a comparatively late time. O. W. Scand. rytta (= vesql skepna) is probably from O. E. ryppa 'mastiff' (cf. Hellquist, Arkiv f. nord. fil. VII p. 44 foot-note 1) and was in this case borrowed before the Scand. soundtransition in question took place.

M. E. bulderston 'a hard round stone', Hav. 1790, N. E. (rec.

speech and dial.) boulder (in gen. dial. use in Sc. and the N. and Midl. counties) 'a hard round stone, esp. the kind used for paving, a large insular stone found on the downs or heath' (see N. E. D., E. D. D): Swed. bullersten (< *bullersten). The word buller (M. E. bulder-) is akin to O. Swed. bulle, bolle, O. W. Scand. bolli 'drinking-vessel, tumbler', Swed. bulle 'loaf', O. E. bolla 'bowl', O. H. G. bolôn 'to roll, throw, fling' and other words given by Tamm, Et. Sv. Ordb. s. v. bulle. The original sense is to be found in L. G. bol 'rundlich dick, geschwollen' (Doorn-kaat-Koolman). I identify Swed. buller(sten) with L. G. bolder 'ein aus dem Bord kleinerer Schiffe hervorstehender rundlicher Balkenkopf oder Balkenstumpf' (= boller in Berghaus, Sprachschatz der Sassen), and with the first member of Swed. buller-blomster 'globe-flower, Trollius europæus'.

M. E. bustelen 'to wander blindly or stupidly' Langl. P. Pl.: Icel. bustl 'a splash as of a fish in the water', bustla 'to splash'. The relation between the English and the Scand. word is uncertain. Cf. N. E. D.

M. E. dank sb. 'wetness, humidity' Morte Arth. 3751, dank adj. 'wet, watery' M. Arth., D. Troy, danken 'to wet, damp, moisten' Wright, Lyr. P. XIII 44, D. Troy, N. E. dank: O. W. Scand. dokk 'pit, pool', (?) Norw. dial. dank 'a drop (of a fluid)' (Ross), Swed. dial. dank 'a moist place in a field, a marshy piece of ground' (cf. Swed. dial. dänka 'to moisten'). Cf. Skeat, Trans. Philol. Soc. 1899 p. 267.

M. E. dasen 'to grow dim, dizzy, to be benumbed with cold, stupefy, bewilder' A. P., Pr. C., D. Troy, Pr. P. etc., N. E. daze: O. W. Scand. *dasa in dasask pass. 'to get exhausted, tired, to pine away', Norw. dial. dasa 'to grow faint', Swed. dial. dasa 'to be sluggish, idle' (Rietz), Dan. dase 'to be sluggish' (Kalkar, Molbech). Cf. Skeat, Trans. Phil. Soc., 1885—87 p. 694. M. E. dasewen is formed from the adj. *dasiz (= Swed. dial. dasig 'lazy, slow'). The word is, of course, unrelated to dizzy, doze.

M. E. derrf, derf, derue Orrm., Leg. Kath., C. M., Gaw., A. P. 'bold, daring, strong, sturdy, painful, grievous, troublesome' (see N. E. D.): O. W. Seand. djarfr, O. Swed. diærver, Dan. djerv 'bold, daring'. Some senses are due to O. E. zedeorf, deorf 'labour, effort, hardship'. It is noticeable that the senses of the word which best agree with the Scand. senses are chiefly

northern. See N. E. D. which makes, however, no difference between the Scand. and the native word.

N. E. doze not found until the 17th ey. (< M. E. *dôsen): Swed. dâsa 'to be drowsy, sleepy', dâsig 'drowsy' (= O. W. Scand. *dosa, O. Swed. *dŏsa akin to Germ. dusel 'Geistesbetäubung', N. E. dizzy etc.). N. E. to doze is perhaps native, as the wordstem occurred also in O. E. (dysiz). The explanations given by Skeat, Kluge-Lutz and others are decidedly wrong. Concerning Swed. dâsa, dâsig, see Noreen, Svenska etymologier p. 14. The etymology given by Tamm s. v. dâsig is erroneous. u in O. W. Scand. dusa was probably short. Cf. also the allied Swed. dial. dusa 'to slumber' and other words given by Tamm s. v. dus, lefva i sus och dus.

M. E. draggen 'trajicio' Pr. P., dragge sb. 'something heavy that is used by being dragged along the ground or over a surface, something used to trag or pull a weight or obstruction' (see N. E. D.); the origin of gg is uncertain, cf. above p. 158 foot-note. It is not from Scand. dragga, dragg, but could be due to a special development on English ground of Scand. g in draga.

M. E. draht, drazt, draught etc.: O. W. Scand. dráttr. But the word, which is recorded in M. E. as early as 1200 (see N. E. D.), probably also existed in O. E., as well as in the other Teutonic languages.

M. E. dreie (<*drese) 'a sled or cart without wheels, formerly much used for dragging wood, turf etc.' (see N. E. D.) : Swed. $dr\ddot{o}g$ ($<*dr\ddot{o}g\dot{i}\ddot{o}$) 'a sled or dray'.

M. E. dreg(ge) 'the sediment of liquors' E. E. Ps., Langl. P. Pl., Pr. P., dreggi 'fæculentus' Pr. P., N. E. dregs: O. W. Scand. dreggjar, Swed. drägg. The isolated spellings dredge of the years of 1577 and 1581 in N. E. D. are noteworthy but need hardly prove the native origin of the word.

M. E. drepen 'to kill' Chr. 1137, C. M., E. E. Ps., Hav., A. P., D. Troy etc. — Kluge, Paul's Grundr.² I p. 933, thinks that the sense 'to kill' is from Scand. (O. W. Scand. drepa, O. Swed. dræpa, Dan. dræbe 'to kill'), the O. E. drepan meaning 'to strike, hit'. But the sense-development ('to strike, hit' > 'to kill') is easily accounted for without assuming Scand. influence. Cf. N. E. to slay also meaning 'to kill'. On the other hand,

some forms of the word may be due to Scand. influence, see above p. 86.

M. E. drillen 'to delay, defer, put off' C. M., N. E. and dial. drill 'to waste time, to lead, allure or entice a person on from one point to another, to decoy or flatter a man into anything' (N. E. D., E. D. D.): O. Dan. drille 'to deceive', Swed. dial. drilla 'to entice, insnare'. But as the further connections of the Scand. word are uncertain (it may possibly be the same word as L. Germ. drillen 'to turn round'), the Scand. origin of the E. word is by no means settled.

N. E. to drizzle: Dan. dial. drisle (Feilberg) 'to drizzle'.

M. E. drīten vb. 'to void or drop excrement', drit, dirt sb. 'ordure, dirt' : O. W. Seand. drita vb., Swed. dial. drita vb., O. W. Seand. drit n., Swed. dial. drit, dret. The word-stem was common Teutonic and it is not possible to decide whether some M. E. uses are due to Seand. origin or not.

M. E. dumpen, dompen 'to fall with sudden force' C. M., A. P., Pr. P., D. Troy, Minot, N. E. dump: O. W. Seand. dumpa 'to beat, thrust', Swed. dial. dumpa, dompa 'to knock', Dan. dumpe, akin to Swed. dimpa 'to fall with a dull sound, to tumble' (cf. Tamm, Et. Sv. Ordb. s. v. dimpa) and to M. L. G. dumpeln 'untertauchen', L. G. dial. dumpel(e)n 'stossen, drücken, tauchen, untertauchen, sinken machen', dumpen 'stossen, drücken, ducken, tauchen, versenken' (Doornkaat-Koolman).

M. E. dūn sb. 'down (of birds), pluma' Ch. D. Bl., Gower, Pr. P. 128. O. W. Scand. dúnn m., Swed., Dan. dun. But the word was probably introduced into English during the M. E. period through the mercantile connections between England and Scandinavia.

M. E. dunen, donen 'to sound, din' R. Coeur de Lyon, Pr. P.: O. W. Scand. duna sb. 'a loud noise', duna vb. 'sound, din', Swed. dial. duna vb., by-form of Swed. dâna 'to resound'. But the English word is probably a native non-mutated formation from the stem represented by O. E. dyne 'noise, loud sound', dynian 'to resound', N. E. din, cognate with O. W. Scand. dynr, O. Swed. dyn sb., O. W. Scand. dynja, Dan. donne vb. Still N. E. dial. dun 'to din, stun with noise, to make a great noise, to thump, beat' occurring only in Sc. and Yksh, seems to point to Scand. origin.

O. E. dwellan, M. E. dwellen 'to dwell, stay': O. W. Scand. dvelja 'to delay', O. Swed. dwælla 'to delay, stay, remain', N. Swed. dväljas 'to stay', Dan. dvæle 'to linger'. The sense is possibly from Scand. See N. E. D., Kluge, Paul's Grundr.² I p. 933; cf. Sweet, H. E. S.² p. 309 and above p. 184 foot-note.

O. E. (ze)eczian, M. E. eggen 'provoke, incitate', N. E. dial. egg, occurring in English for the first time in the Lind. Gosp. (zeeczedon) is, no doubt, from Scand., as there are no forms

with ddž known in Mod. English. Cf. p. 157.

O. E. eorl in late O. E. meant occasionally 'a Danish underking' and evidently was an Anglicized form of Scand. jarl. See N. E. D., Kluge, Grundr.² I p. 933.¹)

M. E. efning, evening 'an equal' Poema Morale, Orrm. etc.: O. W. Seand. jafningi, O. Swed. iæmpninge, O. Dan. iævning. See N. E. D.

M. E. famlen Rel. I 65, H. M. 37. In the first passage quoted (: stameren oper famelen) the sense seems to have been 'to stutter, speak imperfectly' (cf. N. E. dial. famble Lin. 'to stutter'). Stratm.-Bradley translates it with 'to grope, blunder'. In H. M. the sense seems to have been 'to put into the mouth' (probably 'with a shaky, groping hand'): Swed. famla 'to grope', Dan. famle 'to grope, to stutter', Dan. (Molb. Ordb.) at famle klæderne op om sig 'das Kleid aufziehen'. But cf. Dutch fammeln Siebs, Z. f. d. Ph. XXIV 436 f. Concerning the ultimate etymology of the word, opinions vary; see Tamm, Et. Ordb., Lidén, Språkvetenskapl. Sällsk. Förh. 1891—94 p. 63. N. E. dial. fumble 'to handle awkwardly', representing another ablaut, is probably also a loan-word; cf. Swed., Norw. dial. fumla. It occurs in Se., Cum., Yksh., Lancsh., Lincsh., Norf., Suff.

M. E. farecost, ferrcost, fercest 'a kind of boat or ship, condition, circumstances' Laz., C. M., D. Arth.: O. W. Scand.

farkostr, Swed., Dan. farkost 'ship, boat'.

M. E. fas(s)te sb. 'an act or instance of fasting' Orrm., C. M., Maund., Pr. P.: O. W. Scand., O. Swed. fasta, Dan. faste. The O. E. synonym was fasten. See Brate p. 40, N. E. D. The

¹⁾ In later O. E. times caldorman (ruler of a shire) was replaced by corl, which fact is, no doubt, due to Scand. influence; cf. Freeman, Hist. of the Norm. Conquest V p. 519.

only reason for assuming Scand. origin would be the first appearance of the word in Orrm., C. M. etc. Cf. O. H. G., O. Sax. fasta sb. and the O. E. vb. fastan, M. E. fasten.

M. E. fæzen, fezen 'to clean, cleanse, polish' Laz., Best. : O. W. Scand. fægja, Swed. fäja 'to cleanse'. See N. E. D., Kluge, Et. Wb. s. v. fegen. Cf. M. E. fowen 'to clean, cleanse', above p. 89.

O. E. fēr adj. Chr. 1066, 1075, unfēr adj. Chr. 1055, M. E. fēr(e) adj. Hom. I 25, Gen. and Ex., Alex. (Sk.) etc. 'able to go, strong in health', unfēr(e) adj. 'indisposed' Laz., Gen. and Ex., L. H. R.: O. W. Scand. fórr, O. Swed. fōr 'able to go, strong, fit for military service', O. W. Scand. úfórr, O. Swed. ōfōr. Cf. N. E. D., Napier, Mod. Lang. Notes 1889, 279, Kluge, Grundr.² I p. 933. — A derivative of the same stem is M. E. fēre sb. 'ability, power' Orrm., C. M., Misc. 95, unfēre sb. 'infirmity' C. M.: O. W. Scand. fóri 'ability, power'; cf. Brate p. 40, N. E. D. The O. E. zefēre 'body of people, community, party' shows a different sense.

M. E. festen vb. 'to make fast' may in some instances be due to Scand. influence (O. W. Scand. festa, O. Swed. fæsta), as the i-umlant of prehistoric Engl. a before st was O. E. æ (Bülbring, Altengl. Elementarbuch § 169), which in the Anglian dialects of M. E. would probably have given a. The question being very doubtful, I here only mention the possibility of Scand. influence.

M. E. firth 'an arm of the sea' Wynt. Chr., N. E. firth: O. W. Seand. fjorðr, Swed. fjärd.

M. E. fīs 'lirida' Wr. Voc. 679, 23: O. W. Scand. físa vb., Swed. físa, Dan. físe vb., Swed., Dan. fís sb. 'flatus ventris'. Cf. above p. 136, foot-note 1.

M. E. flagge 'a piece cut off or pared off the sward; a turf, sod' Pr. P. (: flagge of the erthe 'cæspes, terricidium'), possibly a dialect form of flawe (see this). See N. E. D.; ef. above p. 158, foot-note.

M. E. flake 'one of the small flocculent pieces in which snow falls, a detached portion of flame' Rel. II 81, Ch., A. P. II 954, Pr. P.: O. W. Scand. flak 'detached piece of something', Swed. flak in isflak 'a large flat piece of ice'. Cf. L. G. flake

'ein im Wasser treibendes grösseres Stück Eis'. The English word is rather probably native.

M. E. flake, fleke 'a wattled hurdle' R. Br. Chron., Pall. etc., is a common Teutonic word of wide occurrence (cf. M. L. G. flake, fleke 'flaches Flechtwerk aus Zweigen', Mod. Dutch vlaak, Fris. flake 'plank of ander vlak voorwerp van vlechtwerk enz. als bedekking of in andere toepassing' etc.), and its Scand. origin (O. W. Scand. flaki, fleki 'hurdle') is rather dubious.

M. E. flakken 'palpitate' Gow. III 315 (: her colde brest began to hete, her herte al so to flacke and bete): O. Dan. flakke (aanden flakker i halsen, Kalkar); cf. Björkman, Dial. Prov. p. 26. As to the etymology of the word, see Tamm, Et. Ordb. s. v. flacka.

M. E. flawe 'a detached piece of something, a flake of snow, a flake or spark of fire' Wr. Voc., D. Arth., Alex. (Sk.), Pr. P., Cath. Angl.: O. W. Scand. flaga 'slab of stone', moldar-flaga 'a thin layer of turf', Swed. dial. flag, flaga 'flake'; cf. L. Germ. flage 'grösseres Stück, e. g. of ice' (Doornk.-Koolm.).

M. E. flat adj. 'horizontally level, prostrate, with the body at full length, plain, not hilly etc.', sb. 'the flat surface or portion of anything, a piece of level ground' Sir Beues, Langl. Rich. Redeles, Ch. Troil., Gaw., D. Troy, Iw., Pr. P., Sir Eglam. (see N. E. D.): O. W. Scand. flatr 'planus', Swed. flat, Dan. flad (= O. H. G. flaz).

M. E. fleck vb., flecked p. pple 'spotted', see N. E. D. The word occurs in all other Teutonic languages and is, although possibly borrowed, probably native in English.

M. E. fonnen 'to lose savour, become insipid', fonned 'that has lost its savour; insipid, sickly-flavoured', also 'foolish, infatuated', N. E. fond, M. E. fon(n) sb. and adj. 'fool, foolish'. As long as no satisfactory etymology of these words has been found,') I may be allowed to refer to some words which may

¹⁾ The current derivation from the O. Scand. word surviving in Swed. fane 'a fool' (< O. Swed. fane) is phonetically impossible, as the northern forms have o not a and because the nn is not accounted for by this etymology. Also the explanation given by Skeat, Trans. Philol. Soc. 1899 p. 275 f. (= Notes on Engl. Etym. p. 102 ff.), who believes that it is from a Friesic word allied to the A. S. fænne, O. Sax. fēnea, Icel. feima 'a virgin', seems to me unsatisfactory.

be, all or some, related. The word occurs in its earliest uses in texts which are very rich in Scand. loan-words: C. M., R. Br., Wycl., Ps., Alex. (Sk.), D. Troy. It only remains to find a Seand, word which could be considered its source. In Norwegian dialects there is a faana, faanna 'to lose colour, to get gray, pale (esp. of hay which has been lying in rain or in the sun), to faint away' (Ross). In Danish dialects I find a verb fonnie 'to do one's work clumsily, awkwardly (: gaa og sysle klodset med et Arbeide, pusle med et Arbeide uden at det fremmes', fonnik 'a clumsy person', fonni-tokki 'stupid, clumsy person' (Feilberg). The etymologies of the Scand. words being obscure, it is not possible to decide whether the Engl. word is related to any of them.

M. E. fraken, freken 'freckle, spot' Wr. Voc. 680, 3, Pr. P. 176, pl. fraknes, freknes Ch., fraknī, frekenī adj. 'lentiginosus' Pr. P.: O. W. Scand. freknóttr 'freckled', Norw. dial. frekna sg., fraknor pl. (Aasen), Swed. fräknar, Dan. fregne. The forms with l instead of n (M. E. fraklis, N. E. freckle, see N. E. D.) may be compared to Norw. dial. frokle 'freckle' (Aasen p. 189).

M. E. frame, in the sense 'advantage, benefit, profit' (Orrm., Gen. and Ex., Br. H. S., Pr. Chron.), may possibly be due to the influence of O. W. Scand. frame 'furtherance, advancement', cf. N. E. D.; but there are other ways to account for the form and meaning of the word. Cf. Brate p. 42. The verb framien (O. E. framian 'to profit, be of service') has evidently also to a great extent influenced the sb.

O. E. frezna(n) 'to ask' Durh. B., R.2: O. W. Scand. fregna, O. Swed. fræghna, cf. Kluge, Paul's Grundr.2 I p. 933. M. E. frazznenn (Orrm.) cannot be from the Scand. word but is from O. E. fræzna(n);1) cf. Brate, P. B. B. X p. 20. M. E. frainen, freinen is, as a rule, ambiguous. The normal O. E. form was frignan, frinan. I suppose that fræznan and freznan are only spellingdoublets; the same view seems to be held by Sievers, Ags. Gr.² § 389, Anm. 3.²) — The Scandinavian origin of the word is very doubtful.

¹⁾ Sievers, Ags. Gr.2 § 389, Anm. 3, Bülbring, Altengl. Elementarbuch § 92 Anm. 1; Sweet, Stud. A.-S. D. gives an O. E. frægning 'questioning'.

²⁾ Bülbring, Altengl. Elementarbuch § 92 Anm. 1 also holds fræzna and fregna to be spelling-doublets and considers both to contain Teut. e.

O. E. friðland Chr. E. 1097 (Kluge, Paul's Grundr.2 I p. 933),

friðmāl (Steenst. p. 55).

M. E. frō sb. 'comfort, relief, profit' C. M. (rime-word do); Wright Lyr. Poems XXXVI 100: O. W. Scand. fró sb. 'comfort, relief', fróa vb. 'comfort, soothe'. The Scand. word being etymologically obscure, its relationship to the Engl. word cannot be decided. O. Swed. frō, N. Swed. dial. fro 'happy, joyful' might be a German loan-word.

O. E. full Chron. 1013, according to Kluge, Paul's Grundr. In p. 933, who translates it with 'gesetzmätsig', depends on Scand. influence. This is, however, in my opinion, somewhat uncertain, as ful syld in the passage in question might possibly mean simply 'full tribute'.

M. E. gabbe 'mockery, deceit', gabben 'to reproach, accuse; to mock, tell lies, deceive', gabbunge 'mockery' Wint. Ben. R. 31,2 (first known use of this word-stem in English, cf. Kluge, Grundr.² I p. 933): O. W. Scand. gabb sb. 'mockery', gabba 'to mock', O. Swed. gabba, Dan. gabbe vb. The wide-spread use of this word-stem in the Teut. languages (cf. v. Friesen, Mediageminatorna p. 36 ff.) renders its native origin in English very probable. In some instances it may have been reinforced by French influence. The earlier distribution of the word in English does not point to Scand. origin; cf. N. E. D.

N. E. gasen 'to gaze' Lidg., Ch. etc. : Norw., Swed. dial.

gasa 'to gape, stare' (Aasen, Rietz).

M. E. gelde adj. 'sterile, barren' H. M., E. E. Ps., C. M., Pr. P. etc., gelden vb. 'geld, castrate' C. M., Wycl., Pr. P. etc. (see N. E. D.), N. E. dial. geld adj. and vb., N. E. gelding 'a castrated animal, esp. a horse': O. W. Scand. geldr 'castrated', gelda 'to castrate', O. Swed. gælda 'to castrate'. Although there is an O. E. zielde, zelde recorded (according to Sweet, Stud. A.-S. D.), all circumstances make the Scand. origin of the M. E., N. E. word probable. See N. E. D. and above p. 150 foot-note.

M. E. gēle 'blandishment' Trin. Coll. Hom. (ca. 1200, see N. E. D.): O. W. Scand. géla (<*góljan) 'satisfy, comfort, please', Norw. dial. gjola 'to flatter, praise'.

Nevertheless frazznenn in the Orrmulum seems to point to an O. E. form with $\alpha > \text{Teut. } a$, if it is not due to a special O. E. sound-development of $e > \alpha$ owing to the preceding r, concerning which see Bülbring l.c.

O. E. gladu, M. E. glade, N. E. dial. glade 'sunset'; see above p. 160.

M. E. glenten 'to move quickly or with a gliding motion, to strike obliquely, to hurl, thrust aside, to look askance, to flash, gleam, shine' Gen. and Ex., R. Br. H. S., Gaw., A. P., Rich. Coeur de L. etc., glent sb. 'a look, glance' A. P., Gaw., N. E. dial. glent vb. and sb.: Swed. dial. glänta 'to slip, slide, to open slightly, to shine, gleam', probably representing several originally distinct words; see Hellquist, Arkiv XIV p. 24. In how far Scand. origin is to be assumed, it seems impossible to settle.

M. E. glim sb. 'splendour' A. P. II 1087 (cf. N. E. dial. glime 'to glance'): Norw. dial. glim 'dazzling light', glima 'to shine with a dazzling light', O. Swed. glim 'a sudden flash of light'; cf. O. Sax. glimo 'splendour', O. H. G. glimo 'glow-worm'.

M. E. glitren 'to glitter': O. W. Scand. glitra, Swed. glittra, Dan. glittre. Sweet, H. E. S. p. 304 and others assume Scand. origin. The word is probably native, cf. Kluge, Et. Wb. s. v. glitzern, Kluge-Lutz s. v. glitter.

M. E. glopnen 'to be astonished, terrified' M. S. of A. R., Gaw., D. Arth., C. M., Amad. (R.), glopnedlī 'fearfully' A. P. II 896, glopp(e)ning 'fright, amazement' C. M., D. Arth., aglopned 'astonished' Alex. (Sk.) 874, for-gloppnedd 'disturbed with fear, astonishment', N. E. dial. gloppen 'to startle, surprise, to be startled, to stare with astonishment': O. W. Scand. glúpna 'to be surprised, to look downcast'. As there is no Scand. *glopna recorded, the Scand. origin of the English words is rather questionable.')

M. E. gloren 'to glare, stare' S. A. L. 47, Alex. (Sk.) 4552, D. Arth. 1047, Life of St. Cuthb., N. E. dial. glore 'to gaze fixedly, stare': Norw. dial. glora 'to stare', gloren 'staring', gloroygd 'with twinkling or staring eyes', Swed. dial. glora 'to stare'. Cf. Dutch gloren, L. G. gloren, Franck, Et. Wb.

¹⁾ The statement of Brate p. 41 that 'im Nord. kein Wort mit entsprechender Vocalstufe sich findet' is however not correct; cf. Norw. dial.
glopen 'greedy', glopa 'to gape, devour' (= glupa), glop 'gap, hole' etc.
(Ross, Aasen), Swed. gläpord 'abusive word'. Cf. M. E. glopen 'to stare'
A. P. II 849, N. E. dial. glop 'to stare'. As for the etymology, see Tamm
s. v. glupa, Noreen, Sv. Etym. p. 30 f.

M. E. $z\bar{o}l$ 'Christmas, December' Orrm., Gaw. etc. The derivation from O. W. Scand. $j\delta l$, E. Scand. $j\bar{u}l$ offers nearly as many phonetical difficulties as that from O. E. $z\bar{e}ol$, and it is therefore wrong to consider the \bar{o} of the M. E. word a criterion of Scand. origin. The former $(j\bar{o}l,j\bar{u}l)$ would probably normally have given M. E. $z\bar{e}l$ the latter $(z\bar{e}ol)$ would have given M. E. $z\bar{e}l$. It is therefore most difficult to decide the origin of the word, esp. as its ulterior etymology and its forms in the various Teutonic languages have not been, as yet, sufficiently cleared up.

M. E. greme 'anger, wrath, grief, harm' A. P., Gaw., D. Troy, Townl. Myst.: O. W. Scand. gremi, see N. E. D. But the e-vowel could be due to the verb O. E. gremian, M. E. gremien, gremen.

- O. E. handfæstan, handfestan 'to betroth' (Sermo in festis Sanctæ Mariæ virginis), M. E. hanndfesst, ihondfæst pple. 'betrothed' Orrm., Laz.: O. W. Scand. handfesta. Cf. Kluge, Grundriss² I p. 933, Vance Diss. Jena 1893—1894 p. 16, Brate, P. B. B. X p. 45.
- O. E. handselen 'mancipatio' Wr. Voc. 449. 29, M. E. han(d)sel 'lucky prognostic omen, gift or present', han(d)selen 'to give handsel to': O. W. Scand. handsal, Dan. handsel, Swed. handsöl. Scand. origin is very dubious; see N. E. D.
- O. E. hæfene 'harbour, port' Chron. 1031, M. E. havene Laz, Jul., R. Gl., C. M., Ayenb., Pr. P. etc.: O. W. Scand. hofn, O. Swed. ham(p)n. O. Dan. havn (= Germ. hafen). Cf. Kluge, Grundr. I p. 933, Stodte p. 14, Sweet, H. E. S. p. 287. In N. E. D. the word is considered to be native. The current O. E. word for 'harbour' was $h\bar{y}p$, and hæfene is presumably from Scand.
- M. E. hain 'an enclosure, a park' Laz., Sir. Degr.: O. W. Seand. hegna 'to hedge, fence', O. Swed. hæghn, Swed. hägn 'enclosure, fence, protection', Dan. hegn 'hedge, fence'. The wordstem being current in O. E., the word may possibly represent a native formation.

M. E. hirsel 'the flock of sheep under the charge of a shepherd': O. W. Scand. hirzla (< hirðsla) 'safekeeping'. As

¹) The Scand. diphthong jô (jû) was rendered by O. E. ēo, M. E. ē; see next chapter. Possibly the diphthong, however, was treated differently when beginning a word.

the word was always concrete in English, its Scand. origin is doubtful. Cf. N. E. D.

O. E. holm 'island, islet', O. E. Chron. A. D. 902, 1025, M. E. holm Pr. P. 244; the O. E. native word, which occurs in Beow., meant 'the sea, the wave'. See N. E. D.

M. E. hōsten 'to cough', hōste sb. 'cough': O. W. Scand. hósta vb., hósti sb., Swed. hosta. As far as phonological views go, the word may very well be from O. E. hwōstan vb., hwōsta sb.; cf. M. E. sōte < swōte, Kluge, Grundr. I p. 1019 and above p. 177, foot-note. Still the localities point, to a certain extent, to Scand. origin, see N. E. D. s. v. hoast.

M. E. hillen, hillen 'to cover, protect, hide' Cott. Hom. 279, A. R., Gen. and Ex., Hav., C. M., R. Br. Chr., Hamp. Ps., Langl. P. Pl., Wiel., unhilenn 'uncover, make known' Orrm., A. P.: O. W. Scand. hylja, O. Swed. hylia, O. Dan. hylle (O. Sax. bi-hullian, O. H. G. hullan). The localities render it probable that the M. E. word was from Scand.

M. E. hulvere 'holly' Lidg., Songs and Carols (Percy Soc. XI), Pr. P.: O. W. Scand. hulfr.

M. E. $c\bar{a}$, $c\bar{o}$, N. E. dial. (Scotl.) kae 'jackdaw': Dan. kaa (cf. N. E. D. s. v. chough). The relationship of the various forms of this wordstem and their ground-forms being unsettled, the Scand. origin of the form in question must be considered doubtful.

M. E. cag 'a small cask' quotation in N. E. D. of A. D. 1452: O. W. Scand. kaggi, Swed. kagge 'keg, cask'. The distribution of the word in the mod. dialects does not point to Scand. origin. It may very well be a native word. As for the etymology, see v. Friesen, Mediageminatorna p. 102 f.

M. E. kaggerlezzk. The first part of the word, although rather obscure, may be Scandinavian; see above p. 17 f.1)

¹⁾ An other suggestion would be to assume *kagger to be from *kanger (cf. Swed. dial. kånger, kång < *kang- 'lewd, lustful'). As for the thus supposed change of ng and gg, reference may be made to M. E. wragger 'one who strives' Townl. 308 (< wranger), wraggunge 'strife' MS. of A. R. 374, wragelunge 'wrangling' A. R. 374. Also doublets like Swed. benrangel, earlier benragel 'skeleton', Swed. ragla, rangla 'to reel, stagger' (Hellquist, Arkiv f. nord. fil. XIV p. 144), are to be compared, although in these g is the original sound. In all the cases here mentioned there is

M. E. cake 'cake' H. M., A. P., Wycl., Trev., L. C. C., Pr. P., Cath. Angl.: O. W. Scand., Swed. kaka, Dan. kage. It has been supposed by Kluge-Lutz s. v. cake that an O. E. *caca is inferred from O. E. cecel 'a small cake', and Kluge-Lutz l. c. as well as Kluge, Et. Wb. s. v. kuchen assume the existence of an O. E. pronunciation *čečil. The M. E. form is, however, exclusively kēchel (thus e. g. Orrm.), and there is no M. E. *chechel recorded. The O. E. word must therefore be supposed to have been cēčel (<*kōkilo, cf. Germ. kuchen), not *čečel. There is consequently no evidence of a stem *kak- till M. E. times (i. e. when the word cake occurs) and although cake may possibly be of native origin, the O. E. cēčel is of no importance for the question. Still cake may very well be a Scand. loanword.

M. E. kakelen 'to eackle', see N. E. D. Skeat, Notes on Engl. Et. p. 28, gives a M. E. cakke, the original verb of which cackle is the frequentative. I consider Scand. origin very uncertain.

M. E. cart(e) 'cart, chariot' Orrm., C. M., Ch., Ayenb., Pr. P. etc.: O. W. Scand. kartr 'van, cart' (cf. O. E. cræt 'chariot'). It is not possible to decide the direct source of the M. E. word. At any rate it is not at all neccessary to assume Scand. origin. I here prefer only to quote the different opinions concerning the word: see Brate p. 47, Kluge, Grundr.² I p. 1018, Kluge-Lutz s. v. cart, Kluge, Et. Wb.⁶ s. v. krätze, N. E. Diet. s. v. cart.

M. E. kelk 'ova of fishes' L. C. C. 19, is compared by Stratm.-Bradley with Swed. kälk 'marrow'. This word, which is given by Rietz from a Swedish dialect, is not be found otherwhere in Scand. The connexion between the two words therefore must be considered very obscure. The E. word is probably akin to O. H. G. chelch 'struma, kropf', H. Germ. dial. kelch 'herabhängende Fetthaut zwischen Kinn und Hals, Unterkinn', O. W. Scand. kjalki 'jawbone' (Schade, Grimm).

M. E. cask (caske and teyte Hav. 1841) 'joyous, cheerful, lively': O. W. Scand. karskr, kaskr 'brisk, bold', O. Swed. karsk 'strong, brave, healthy', Swed. dial. karsker 'brisk, bold, strong',

a liquid consonant (l, n or r) in the following syllable; cf. also such doublets as N. E. scrabble and scramble, M. E. rimplen and N. E. ripple.

O. Dan. karsk, kask 'brisk, lively, swift, healthy, sound' (Kalkar), Dan. karsk. Cf. M. L. G. kask, kasch, karsch 'munter, frisch, bei Kräften', L. Germ. karss, karsch, kass, kasch, kask 'frisch, munter, rüstig, stark, mutig, gut bei Kräften, lebhaft, dreist' (Berghaus, Brem. Wb.), Germ. karsch 'munter, frisch' (see Hildebrand in Grimm's Dictionary), Swiss German chärsch, chäsch 'gesund, kräftig, munter, mutig, keck, rüstig' (Staub and Tobler, Schweizerisches Idiotikon). The current etymology from Scand. karl, Germ. kerl etc. is untenable, as it does not account for the a of the German word. The Engl. word is perhaps from the Scand. byform without r.¹) But as the etymology of the word is unknown, it is not possible to decide the question. Is M. E. craske (or fryke of fatte), crask (or lusty) Pr. P. 100 the same word?

M. E. kenbowe (in the phrase to set his hond in kenebowe 'akimbo') Tale of Beryn 1838, N. E. akimbo (< *a kengbowe) : O. W. Scand. kengr 'bend, flexion, crook', Norw. dial. kjeng, king 'Krampe, liden Jernkrog som er festet i begge Ender', kjenga, kinga 'Drikkeskaal med Hank paa begge Sider'; cf. Swed. dial. kang 'lång nedhängande löf- eller barrqvist; en af fruktens eller bärens tyngd nedböjd gren'. The explanation from an O. E. *cyneboza formed as O. E. cynewiððe f. 'a diadem' does not offer as many points of congruity as to the sense as do the Scand. words.

M. E. kennen 'know, acknowledge, make known, teach': O. W. Scand. kenna 'declare, show, manifest, teach, call, ascribe, feel, perceive, know, understand', O. Swed. kænna 'make known, show, teach, know, recognise, perceive, be aware of, acknowledge' Dan. kjende 'to know' (= Goth. kannjan 'bekannt machen, kund tun', O. Fries. kanna, kenna 'erkennen, bekennen', Germ. kennen). According to Sweet, Stud. Anglo-Saxon Dict., O. E. cennan meant 'to bear child, produce' and 'to declare, attest, give information, assign, ascribe, give name, rfl. clear oneself,

¹⁾ Professor Lidén calls my attention to the fact that O. W. Scand. kaskr is no doubt a late form < karskr (cf. fystr < fyrstr, Noreen, Altisl. Gr. § 212, 3). Also the German words without the r may be due to a similar sound-change; cf. M. L. G. basch < barsch. Dan. kask is obscure, but may be borrowed from German. These considerations render the Scand. origin of M. E. cask still more doubtful.

disavow'.') It is probable that some of the meanings of M. E. kennen were due to Scand. influence, but the real dimensions of this influence cannot be decided.

M. E. keven probably meaning 'to sink' Pearl 320, 980: O. W. Scand. kefja 'to dip, dive'; see Skeat, Notes on Engl. Et. p. 151, Ker, Modern Lang. Quarterly III, Nr. 3, p. 191. kefja is from a base *kwafjan or *kwabjan (Zupitza, Germ. Gutt. p. 83 f.), which would, of course, not have given a native M. E. keven, but I considered the etymology of M. E. keven to uncertain to be given in the preceding chapter.

M. E. kinnen 'to kindle, set on fire' A. P. II 915, N. E. dial. kin, kind, keen 'to kindle' (Wall p. 109), M. E. kindlen Orrm., A. R., Hav., C. M., Ch., Alex. (Sk.), Pr. P.: O. W. Scand. kynda 'to set on fire', kyndill 'candle, torch', Dan. kyndel 'a candle', O. Swed. kyndel- in the compound kyndelmæssa 'candlemas'. O. W. Scand. kyndill, O. Dan., O. Swed. kyndel is no doubt from O. E. candel 'a candle', the y being due to the influence of the native kynda.

M. E. clappen 'to strike so as to make a noise, hit, knock'. In N. E. D. it is said: "some of the senses are probably of Norse origin; the modern Scand. languages have it with the same range of meaning as in English". This may be right, but it is not possible to make any exact distinction between the native and Scand. meanings. Cf. O. E. clappettan 'to throb'.

M. E. clippen 'to cut with seissors or shears' Orrm., Gen. and Ex., Gow., Wiel, Ch., Pr. P.: O. W. Scand., Swed. klippa, Dan. klippe (= L. G. klippen, according to N. E. D.).

M. E. clubbe 'a thick stick' Laz., Hav., A. P., Perc., Pr. P. etc.: O. W. Scand., Swed. klubba 'club, hammer', O. Dan. klubbe.

M. E. clumsen 'to be or become stiff or numb with cold, to stupefy, amaze' E. E. P. 123, Langl. P. Pl. B. XIV 50, York Myst. XXIII 201: Norw. dial. klumsa 'to make speechless, lame', Swed. dial. klumsen 'benumbed with cold'; cf. N. E. D.,

¹⁾ Of course, we have here to do with two different words, cennan 'to bear child, produce' being from the root gen- in Greek γένος, γίγνομαι etc.

Hellquist, Ark. f. nord. fil. XIV p. 40, Lindgren, Burträskmålet p. 94. The stem also occurs in West Teutonic, see N. E. D.

M. E. cnag 'knot, peg' Flor. 1795: O. Dan. knag 'Takke på et Hjul', Swed. dial. knagg 'lump, knot, knob'. But the word is spread also in the West Teut. languages on the Continent, see v. Friesen, Mediageminatorna p. 104.

O. E. cnif (about 1000), M. E. cnif 'knife' Ælfr. Gl., Kath., Orrm., A. R., Hav. etc.: O. W. Scand. knifr, Swed. knif, Dan. kniv (= Dutch knijf, M. L. G. knif etc., see Franck s. v.). The occurrence of the word in other West Teutonic languages, as well as is early occurrence in English, render native origin probable. The Scand. word found in English about 1000 were of a different stamp from this word, see above p. 5. Brate p. 38, Kluge, Grundr. I p. 932, Kluge-Lutz s. v. knife.

M. E. codde 'pillow, cushion' Alex. (Sk.), Townl.: O. W. Scand. koddi 'pillow', Swed. kudde 'cushion', O. Dan. kodde 'pillow'. See N. E. D., von Friesen, Mediageminatorna p. 93 and foot-note.

M. E. cogge 'one of a series of teeth or similar projections on the circumference of a wheel' Owl and Nighting, Pr. P.: O. Dan. kogge 'dens rotæ molaris' (Kalkar), Swed. kugg(e), Swed. dial. kogg 'cog of a wheel'; cf. N. E. D., Skeat, Notes on Engl. Et. p. 43. As for the etymology, see von Friesen, Mediageminatorna p. 105 f.1)

O. E. cost (Durh. Rit., L. Æthelr.), M. E. cost, cosst 'way, manner, available course, quality, disposition, character' Lamb. Hom. 21, Orrm., Laz., Gen. and Ex., A. P., Gaw., Ch., Sir Degr., Pecock: O. W. Scand. kostr 'condition, chance, choice, opportunity, state, condition, means, quality', O. Dan. kost 'condition, income, profit etc.'. Cf. N. E. D., Brate p. 38, Steenstr, p. 305, Zupitza, Anz. f. d. A. VI p. 23, Sievers, P. B. B. IX p. 269, Kluge, Grundr.² I p. 932 f.

M. E. crasen 'to break by concussion or violent pressure, to break in pieces or asunder' Ch., Lydg., Merl. etc.: Swed. krasa 'to crackle', slå i kras 'to dash in pieces', Swed. dial.

¹⁾ In this connexion attention may be called to the evidently correct etymology of N. E. cudgel given by von Friesen in the quoted passage; cf. also Skeat, Notes on Engl. Et. p. 54 f.

krasa 'to smash, break in pieces' (Rietz). O. Dan. kras 'fragments'. Scand. origin is questionable, see N. E. D.

O. E. crafian Sax. Leechd. III 288, Cnut's Sec. Laws, Chron. 1070, M. E. crauen 'to demand' Gen. and Ex., E. E. Ps., Castle of Love, A. R., C. M., Hav., Langl. P. Pl., R. Br. Chron., Townl. etc. (see N. E. D.): O. W. Scand. krefja vb., krof, krafa sb. 'claim, demand', O. Dan. kræve, krave vb. 'to demand', krav sb. 'exactio', O. Swed. krævia, krava vb., Swed. kräfva vb., kraf sb. Only known in Scand. and English and by many scholars considered to be a Scand. loan-word (cf. Kluge, Grundr. Ip. 933, Steenstr. p. 184). If so, it is somewhat surprising that the stem-vowel is always a, as in Scand. the e, æ (< a through i-mutation from a base *krafjan) was the normal vowel of the verb. In N. E. D. the word is given as a native word.

M. E. crōke 'crook' A. R., Orrm., C. M., Ch., A. P., R. Br. Chron. etc. (N. E. D.): O. W. Scand. krókr, O. Swed. kroker, Dan. krog.

M. E. crūse 'angry, irate, cross, bold, daring, hardy, brisk, lively' C. M., Hav., Chest. Pl.: O. Dan. krus 'angry, irate', Norw. dial. krus 'brisk, lively' (Ross). But the Scand. word may be borrowed from German.

M. E. cūren 'to cower' Alis., Gaw., Pol. Songs 329, Flor. 784 etc.: Norw. dial. kura 'bøie sig ned', Swed. kura 'huka sig ned och gömma sig', Dan. kure, Germ. kauern, M. L. G. kūren. In Mod. E. dialects the word occurs in Scotl., Irel. and north and midl. counties. Scand. origin is probable.

M. E. cwerken 'choke, strangle, suffocate' Pr. P. 72, 420 : Swed. dial. kvärka, Dan. kverke (= M. L. G. querken, O. Fries. querka 'erdrosseln).

M. E. quert 'safe and sound' S. S. (Web.) 771, Lud. Cov., Pr. P., etc. in quert 'at rest': Dan. kvær, neut. kvært (cf. above p. 19 f.) 'quiet, still', O. W. Scand. kvirr, Norw. dial. kverr 'quiet' (Aasen) = Goth. qaírrus, M. H. G. kiirre. Cf. Skeat, Notes on Engl. Etym. p. 235 f. Otherwise Hupe, Engl. Stud. XI p. 495.

M. E. cutten, citten, kitten 'to cut' Laz., E. E. Ps., K. Alis., C. M., Hav., Arth. and Merl., Wycl., Ch. etc.: O. W. Scand. kuti 'a blunt knife', Swed. dial. kâta, kuta 'to cut or chip with a knife', kâta ur 'to hollow out', kuta, kytti 'a knife'. See Skeat,

Trans. Philol. Soc. 1888—90 p. 2. The phonology being doubtful, Scand. origin is uncertain.

O. E. lazu, M. E. lazhe, lawe 'law', O. E. laheōp (p. 68), lahslit 'fine for breach of Danish law' (Steenstr. p. 264) etc.: O. W. Scand. log, Swed. lag, Dan. lov. See Steenstr. p. 15 ff., Brate p. 48, Kluge, Grundr.² I p. 933.

M. E. lān, lōn, N. E. loan: O. W. Scand. lán, O. Swed. lān, Dan. laan, ef. above p. 30 foot-note.

M. E. last 'crime' Orrm., Laz., A. P. etc., lasten 'to blame' Jul., A. R., A. P. : O. W. Scand. lostr, Swed. last, lasta. Cf. Brate p. 48.

M. E. lē 'shelter, protection', N. E. lee, is derived by Skeat, Et. D., Kluge-Lutz a. o. from O. W. Scand. hlé (sigla á hlé 'to stand to leeward'), Swed. lä, Dan. læ, but is possibly rather from O. E. hlēo 'covering, shelter, protection'; 1) thus Kluge, Et. Wb.6 s. v. Lee. Teutonic base *hlëwa-. N. E. lew and M. E. forms with remaining w are from O. E. hlĕow- in phrases like O. E. under hlĕowe (cf. Sievers, Ags. Gramm. § 250 and Anm. 3).

M. E. leken 'leak, drop' Pall. VI 33: O. W. Scand. leka, O. Swed. læka 'to drip, dribble, leak'. Probably native; cf. O. E. factitive leccan 'to wet', Dutch lekken etc. Cf. Kluge-Lutz s. v.

M. E. liften 'to lift' Hav., A. P., Langl. P. Pl., Pr. P. etc.: O. W. Scand. lypta, O. Swed. lypta, lyfta, O. Dan. lypte. M. E. lefftenn Orrm. is formed from the sb. loft by way of analogical i-mutation, cf. Morsbach, Me. Gramm. p. 171.2)

O. E. loft 'air, wind', M. E. loft 'height, upper room, loft', Orrm., Langl. P. Pl., Gaw., Pr. P. etc., N. E. dial. loft 'upper room, gallery': O. W. Scand. lopt 'air, upper region, upper chamber', O. Swed. lopt, loft, Dan. loft. See Brate p. 49, Napier, Mod.

1) In the nautical sense (e. g. D. Troy 4675) the word may be due to Scand. influence (cf. Cent. Dict.); but as this sense is very easily explained also from the O. E. word, I prefer to consider the word to be wholly of native origin.

²⁾ Morsbach l. c. says: "Orrm's lefftenn setzt die Existenz eines ae. *loft voraus". O. E. loft does really occur, but is so late that it is probably a Scand. loan-word. The form lefftenn does not prove its existence in O. E. before the Danelag times, as analogical i-mutation may very well have taken place much later, even in M. E. times. Cf. my explanation of M. E. tristen, Dial. Prov. p. 19 ff.

Lang. Notes 1889, No. 5, Kluge, Grundr.² I p. 934, N. E. D. I p. 248 (s. v. aloft). The native O. E. form is lyft 'air, wind'.

M. E. lune Hom. I p. 197 (: vor is holie nome of mine line zif me lune). Morris translates the word with 'loan', Stratm.-Bradly with 'quiet, rest'. The latter derives it from Dan. lunn (< lugn), Swed. lugn, O. W. Scand. logn 'rest', cf. N. E. dial. loun, lown, lound 'quiet, calm, sheltered' (Wall p. 111, Flom p. 52). This derivation very well suits the sense, but the rime with săne 'son' presents difficulties.

O. E. macalic 'suitable', M. E. make 'consort, partner', make adj. 'aptus', maklī adv. 'faciliter'. Scand. origin is generally accepted, but as the word-stem occurs also in native words (cf. N. E. match), I cannot decide to what extent Scand. influence is to be assumed.

O. E. marc 'half a pound, mark' Chr. 1039, 1101, Steenstr. p. 171, Kluge, Grundr. I p. 934, Sweet, Stud. A.-S. D., M. E. mark 'mark, marca' Laz., R. Gl., Langl. P. Pl., Poems and Lives of Saints VIII 149: O. W. Scand. mork, O. Swed., O. Dan. mark. The coin was introduced by the Scandinavians. Cf. ōra p. 11.

M. E. mos 'moss, museus' Pr. P., Pall. etc.; see Björkman, Zeitschrift f. deutsche Wortforschung II p. 224.

M. E. muggen 'to become cloudy, form clouds' Gaw. 2080 (: mist muged on be mor 'the mist hovered like clouds on the moor'), N. E. dial. mug sb. 'fog, mist': O. W. Scand., Norw. dial. mugga 'drizzling rain, soft drizzling mist, mould', Dan. muggen 'musty, mouldy'.

M. E. muk, mukke, mok, mokke Gen. and Ex., Gow., Wiel., A. P., Pr. C., Pr. P.: Norw. dial. mukka 'quantity, heap, pile', Swed. dial. mokka 'heap, quantity', O. Dan. mug (<*muk), mog (<*muk), mog (<*myk) 'dung', Dan. dial. mokke 'a small pile', O. W. Scand. mykr, myki sb., Swed. dial. måka vb., akin to M. H. G. mocke 'Klumpen, Brocken' (v. Friesen, Mediageminatorna p. 107).

M. E. nab 'projecting point of a hill' Alex. (Sk.) 5964, N. E. dial. nab 'hill, top, projection of the sea-coast' (Wall p. 113): O. W. Scand. (fjallz-)nabbr 'projecting point of a mountain', Swed. dial. nab 'top, point', related to O. E. nebb 'nose'.

M. E. nether 'nether, lower', according to Kock, P. B. B.

XXIII p. 513 foot-note from Scand., may depend on O. E. neopera (cf. O. E. neopan).

M. E. pegge 'pynne of tymbur' Pr. P. 390: Dan. dial. peg, pæg 'reed' (Molbech, Dansk Dialektlexikon), related to Swed. pigg 'spike, point, piek', Norw. dial. pigg (Aasen), Dan. pig. O. E. pegge given by Kluge-Lutz means 'a pig', not 'a peg'. It occurs in a charter of Swinford copied into the Liber Albus at Wells.

M. E. pel 'a costly sort of cloth': O. W. Scand. pell, O. Swed. pæl(l) (< Lat. pallium). Cf. Morsbach, M. E. Gramm. § 107 Anm. 5. Scand. origin is more than doubtful.

M. E. $pl\bar{o}h$, plozh, plow sb. 'plough': O. W. Seand. $pl\delta gr$, Swed. plog, Dan. plov. O. E. $pl\bar{o}_{\mathcal{S}}$ meant 'a measure of land', and Köppel, Arch. CIV p. 37, thinks the M. E. sense possibly due to Scand. influence. The sense 'plough', however, was evidently common Teutonic, as is shown by the other Teutonic languages, and probably existed also in O. E.

M. E. raft 'beam, plank' Av. Arth. XXV, N. E. raft: O. W. Scand. raftr (gen. rapts, pl. raptar) 'spar, beam', O. Dan. raft (see Fritzner² III p. 37), Swed. dial. raft (Rietz p. 520).

O. E. raggig 'setosus', M. E. ragge 'rag' P. S. 150, Gow., Shor., Pr. P.: O. W. Scand. rogg, Swed. ragg. See above p. 35 foot-note 2.

M. E. rapen 'rush, hasten, make haste', Gen. and Ex., Gow., Ch., Langl. P. Pl., Gaw. 1903, D. Troy, Pr. P. etc., rape sb. 'haste' Langl. P. Pl., Gow., A. P. II 233, D. Troy etc., M. E. rap(e) adj. 'swift', rap(e)lī adv. 'quickly' Langl. P. Pl., A. P. I 1168, M. H. etc. (see Stratm.-Bradley): O. W. Scand. hrapa 'to fall, tumble down, to rush headlong, hurry', hrap sb. 'running, falling down', hrapaliga adv. (fara hrapaliga 'to rush headlong like a fool'), O. Swed. rapa 'tumble down, hurry', Swed. rapp adj. 'swift, quick', Swed. dial. rappa sig 'to make haste', Dan. rap (<*hrapp-) 'swift, quick'. Cf. Dutch rap adj. 'gezwind', M. L. G. rap etc. (Franck s. v. rap). In some instances it is not possible to decide whether we have to do with forms containing originally p or pp.

M. E. rap sb. 'rap, ietus' Em., D. Troy, Alis., Octav., Pr. P., rappen vb. 'to rap, beat, pulso' Langl. P. P., Lud. Cov., Pr. P.

: Dan. rap sb. 'a blow, rap' (Dansk Ordb. Kiøbenh. 1829), Norw. dial., Swed. rapp 'a blow', Swed. rappa 'strike, beat'.

M. E. rīven 'to rive, tear, break', comp. to-rīven (see Stratm.-Bradley): O. W. Scand. rífa 'to rive, tear', O. Swed. rīva, Dan. rive; cf. Dutch rijven, see Franck s. v. Germ. reiben probably rest on a base wrīban identical with Dutch wrijven 'to rub', cf. Kluge, Et. Wb.6 s. v. reiben. As O. Swed. rīva cannot be from the same base as Dutch wrijven (this would correspond to an O. Swed. *vriva) we must distinguish between two different Teutonic verbs. Otherwise Kluge-Lutz s. v. rive.

M. E. $r\bar{o}$ sb. 'quiet, peace' (comp. un- $r\bar{o}$ sb. 'disquiet' C. M., Perc.) Orrm., Marh., Rel. I 116 etc. is possibly rather to be derived from O. W. Scand. $r\acute{o}$, Dan., Swed. ro, than from O. E. $r\bar{o}w$. Cf. Brate p. 53.

M. E. rōmen 'to bellow, grumble' Ps. CIII 21, Av. Arth., Hamp. Ps., D. Arth. This northern word cannot be from an earlier *rāmen < prehist. Scand. *rāma (= Swed. rāma 'to low'). It is rather to be derived from O. W. Scand. róma 'to talk loudly' (cf. O. W. Scand. rómr 'voice, ring of the voice, shouting, cheering', Dan. rom 'cheering' Dansk Ordb. 1829).

Late O. E., M. E. $r\bar{o}t$ L. Hol. Rood ed. Napier (E. E. T. S. 103 p. 4), Chr. 1127, Orrm., A. R., Ayenb., Ch. etc.: O. W. Scand. $r\bar{o}t$, Swed. rot, Dan. rod. Cf. above p. 179 foot-note 2, Morsbach, Anglia Beibl. VII p. 335, Napier, Acad. 1894 No. 1152 col. 457, Kluge, Grundr.² I p. 934.

M. E. ruggen 'rock, agitate' Pr. C., Langl. P. Pl., D. Arth., Pr. P.: O. W. Scand. rugga 'to shake, rock', Norw. dial. rugga, Swed. dial. rugga 'to move to and fro, shake'; ef. Dan. rygge 'to shake', uryggelig 'firm, not to be shaken', Swed. rygga, orygglig. Related words with kk are: N. E. to rock, Dan. rokke vb., Germ. ruck sb., rücken vb., O. W. Scand. rykkia.

M. E. rūke (rūke?) sb. 'heap' A. P. 214, N. E. ruck 'heap, small pile': Norw. dial. ruka 'a heap, pile' (Aasen), Swed. ruka 'a heap'. Scand. origin questionable; cf. M. E. rukelen 'to heap up', ruken vb. 'to crouch, huddle together'. Numerous related words with k, g, gg are found in the Scand. languages, e. g. O. W. Scand. hroka vb. 'fylde til Overflød eller Overmaal', hroki 'hvad der ligger ovenpaa eller overskyder det bredfulde Maal', Swed. dial. roga, råga 'a small heap', rugge 'a heap, quantity'.

M. E. rumpe 'cauda' Pr. P. 439, N. E. rump: Norw. dial. rumpa, O. Swed. rumpa, rompa 'tail', Dan. rumpe akin to Germ. rumpf etc. 'trunk, body'. The sense 'tail, cauda' seems to be typically Scandinavian.

M. E. runkel sb. 'wrinkle' C. M. 18840: O. W. Scand. hrukka, O. Swed. rynkia, Dan. rynke. See Dial. Prov. p. 23 foot-note 2.

M. E. sale 'venditio', which has often been considered Scandinavian (cf. O. W. Scand., O. Swed. sala sb.) is, most probably, a native word. There is an O. E. sala 'venditio' (<*salo, *salu) in Wr. Voc. 180, 16 (Suppl. to Ælfr. Gloss.); cf. Zupitza, Arch. LXXVI p. 213. Besides the native verb sellan renders the existence of a native sb. O. E. salu a priori very probable; cf. O. H. G. sala 'traditio'.

O. E., M. E. sæte, sete 'seat' Wint.-Bened.-R. ed. Schröer, Orrm., Ps., A. P., Pr. P. etc. (Brate p. 53, Kluge, Grundr.² p. 934): O. W. Scand. séti n., Swed. säte n., Dan. sæde n. Cf. the native O. E. sæt f. 'ambush' (= O. W. Scand. sát f., O. Swed. sāt, forsāt f. 'ambush').

M. E. sīlen 'to strain, colare' Cath. Angl. 339, L. C. C. 21, Hall. 743, N. E. dial. sīle 'to strain, skim' Wall p. 119: Norw. dial. sīla, Swed. sīla 'to strain, filter',') formed from Scand. sīl sb. 'strainer, filter' (< *sīh[w]ila-z) and belonging to the root represented by O. E. sēon 'to strain, filter', Germ. seihen.

M. E. silte (written cilte) 'glarea' Pr. P. 77, N. E. silt 'a deposit of mud or fine soil from running or standing water, fine eartly sediment': Norw. dial. sylt, sylta 'a low shore often flooded by high-water' (Aasen, Ross), Dan. sylt 'part of the shore which is sometimes flooded by high-water' (Dansk Ordb. 1848, Molb., Dansk Dialektlex.), Swed. dial. sylta 'bog, fen, palus' (Ihre, Dialektlex., cf. Molb. l. c.). The etymology given by Skeat, Et. Dict. is untenable.²)

M. E. slahter, slauhter sb. 'slaughter' M. H. 38, Pr. C. 3367, Man. (H.) 91, Arth. and Merl. 3918, Pr. P. 458: O. W. Scand.

¹⁾ L. Germ. sil 'Schleuse zum Durchlassen oder Abfliessen des Binnenwassers' (Doornk.-Koolm.), silen 'aquas deducere' (Brem. Wb.) seems to represent an identical formation.

²) Bosw.-Toller gives an O. E. swylt 'a whirlpool, gurges' Hpt. Gl. 468, 72, which is however rather problematic. If such a word existed it is probably a native equivalent of M. E. silte.

slátr n. 'the meat of killed cattle', slátra 'to kill cattle' etc., Swed. dial. sláter 'killing, slaughter'; ef. O. W. Scand. sláttr gen. sláttar ') m. 'mowing of hay', slá 'to beat, hammer, kill, mow (hay)' (= O. E. slēan). There was a native O. E. sb. sleaht, slieht 'killing, slaughter' (= O. H. G. slaht sb. 'Schlagen, Züchtigung'). There is no corresponding word (with the formative r) known in other Teut. languages, and although there might have been such a formation in O. E. (ef. the analogous native N. E. laughter), slaughter is probably from Scand. This is also the view held by most scholars; cf. e. g. Zupitza, Anz. f. d. Altert. II p. 10, Sweet, H. E. S.² p. 293, Kluge-Lutz s. v., Kluge, Grundr.² I p. 936.

M. E. slak, dat. slake 'ravine' Ant. Arth. XXIII, Sir Degr. 333, Isum. 622, N. E. dial. slack 'a dell, glade, hollow': Norw. dial. slakke 'a slight hollow on a level or slope' (Aasen), Swed. dial. slack adj. 'sloping'.

M. E. snare 'snare, noose, halter, pedica' Rel. I 7, Ch., Pr. P., etc. is derived by Kluge-Lutz, E. Et., Köppel, Arch. CIV p. 32 from O. W. Scand., Swed. snara, Dan. snare. The latter assumes the existence of an O. E. *snearh, but only in the sense 'Saite'. This is no doubt incorrect. There is an O. E. sner 'string of a musical instrument, fidis' but this word is not etymologically identical with snare, as it is no doubt from a base containing Teut. o; cf. Germ. schnur 'a string, rope', O. W. Scand. snóri 'a twisted rope'. But the word snare is nevertheless to be found in O. E.: snearan 'tendiculam, decipulam, laqueum, quod tenditur leporibus et avibus' in the Aldh. Gl., edited by Bouterwek, Hpt. Zschr. IX p. 429 1. 23. As there are several words of presumable Scand. origin in these Glosses (e. g. raggie 'setosa') the word may be from Scand. As far as the form of the word goes, M. E. snare may be native as well as Scand.; concerning the treatment of the Teut. soundgroup -arh- in English, see above p. 105.

M. E. snart adj. 'severe' Alex. (Sk.) 3633; adv. Gaw. 2003; see p. 20.

M. E. snizen 'to creep' Alex. (Sk.) 4095 : Swed. dial. sniga

¹⁾ Concerning the secondary er in Swed. slåtter 'mowing of hay', see Tamm, Fornnordiska feminina på ti och ipa p. 26 and foot-note 2.

'to sneak, steal away'. Dan. snige is ambiguous as possibly representing an earlier *snīka (cf. O. E. snīcan).

M. E. snipe 'snipe' Rel. I 82, Pr. P. 461: O. W. Scand. mýrisnípa 'Scolopax gallinago'. Probably native in English. Cf. Kluge, Et. Wb. s. v. Schnepfe.

O. E. sōl 'sun': O. W. Scand. sól, O. Swed., O. Dan. sōl, Cf. Kluge, Grundr.² I p. 934, E. St. VIII p. 479. But sol in the Ps. is probably the Latin word.

M. E. sparthe 'halberd, battleaxe' Gaw., Ch., Alex. (Sk.), Pr. P.: O. W. Scand. sparða 'an Irish battleaxe'. But the Scand. word is probably a loan-word.

M. E. spink 'a sort of bird' Voc. 189, N. E. spink 'the chaffinch': Norw. dial. spikke, Swed. dial. spink, Dan. dial. (Molb., Dialektlex.) spinke 'a sort of sparrow', cf. Cent. Dict., Thurneysen Keltoroman. p. 73.

M. E. stange 'pole, stake' Gaw. 1614, N. E. stang: O. W. Scand. stong, Dan. stang, Swed. stang (= Germ. stange, Dutch stang; cf. O. E. steng 'pole, stake'). The E. word is probably native.

M. E. ste, stegh 'ladder' Alex. (Sk.), N. E. dial. stee 'ladder' Halliw.: O. W. Scand. stigi, stegi, Dan. stige, O. Swed. stighi (> Swed. stege) 'a ladder'. But cf. O. E. stize sb. 'going up or down' and similar related words in O. E. and M. E.

M. E. stumelen, stumren 'to stumble' Pl. Cr., Langl. P. Pl., Pr. P., Rel. II 211: Swed. dial. stumla (Hellquist, Ark. f. nord. fil. XIV p. 166), O. W. Scand. stumra. Cf. Dutch stommelen, L. Germ. stummelen 'hin und her schwanken, holpern, stolpern (Doornk.-Koolm.).

M. E. swaren vb. 'answer, respond' Orrm., Gaw., A. P., sware sb. 'answer, response' Orrm. 2422: O. W. Scand. svar sb., svara vb., Swed., Dan. svar sb., Swed. svara vb., Dan. svare vb. But cf. O. E. andswarian vb. 'to answer', andswaru sb. 'answer'.

M. E. tange sb. 'sting, dagger, pugio' Wr. Voc., Pr. P. 496, cf. Halliw. tang 'that part of a knife or fork which passes into the haft', N. E. dial. tang 'pike, sting' (Wall p. 124): O. W. Scand. tangi 'the pointed end by which the blade is driven into the handle', Swed. dial. tange, tange 'point', related to O. H. G. zangar 'beissend, scharf' etc.

O. E. taper-æx 'a small axe' Chron.: O. W. Scand. taparax, a small axe'. The Scand. word is from Russian.

M. E. tatered 'tattered, lacerated' Pl. Cr., Pr. C., Townl.: O. W. Scand. toturr 'rag, tatter', Norw. dial. totra 'rag' possibly akin to O. E. tættec 'rag'. Skeat, Et. D., Kluge-Lutz and others assume Scand. origin.

M. E. tike 'dog, churl' Langl. P. Pl. C. XXII 37, D. Arth. 3642, N. E. dial. tike: O. W. Scand. tik, Swed. tik 'a bitch'. The etymology of the Scand. word being unsettled — it is possibly a loan-word — the Scand. origin of the E. word is somewhat doubtful.

M. E. tōm adj. 'empty', sb. 'ease, leisure', tēmen 'to make empty, pour out', Scotch toym, tume (Flom p. 68): O. W. Scand. tómr 'empty', tóm sb. 'emptiness, leisure', téma 'to make empty', O. Swed. tōmbr adj., tōma vb., Swed. tom adj., tōmma vb. But there is an adj. tōm 'free from' in O. E. (Crīst 1212: mān-weorca tōme lifāan). Cf. O. Sax. tômi(g) 'frei von', O. H. G. zuomig 'vacans'. Still the sense and the localization of the M. E. words (see Stratm.-Bradley) render their Scand. origin rather probable.

M. E. trillen 'twirl' A. P. I 78, Ch., Octav., Pr. P.: Norw. dial. trilla, Swed. trilla, Dan. trille 'to troll, roll', identical with or borrowed from L. Germ. trillen 'hin- und herschütteln', Dutch trillen and akin to L. Germ. trullen 'rollen, wälzen', Norw. dial. trulla, M. E. trollen 'troll, roll'. The Engl. word is probably native.

M. E. tunder sb. 'tinder' Rel. I 220, Langl. P. Pl., Man. (F.) 14683, Pr. P. 506: O. W. Scand. tundr, O. Dan. tunder. But probably a native form without i-mutation. Cf. O. E. tynder, Swed. dial. tönner (< tynder), Germ. zunder.

M. E. waggen 'to wag, shake, move' A. R., Rel. I 6, P. S. 333, Hav., Langl. P. Pl., Ayenb., Trev., Alex. (Sk.), Pr. P. etc., N. E. to wag, waggle: Swed. vagga, Norw., Swed. dial. vagla; cf. M. H. G. wacken, wackeln, M. L. G. waggelen 'sich hin und her bewegen, wackeln', Dutch waggelen. The E. words are probably native. Concerning the etymology, see von Friesen, Mediageminatorna p. 109.

M. E. wale sb. 'choice, option' Fragm. of Ælfr. Gramm. ed. Phillips p. 8, C. M., Ant. Arth., D. Troy, Clariodus (Curtis

p. 18), wale adj. 'good, choice' Gen. and Ex., Gaw., A. P., Alex. (Sk.), M. E. walen 'to choose' Gaw., A. P., Spec. 23, D. Troy, Alex. (Sk.), welen 'to choose' Iw. 2507, Man. (F.) 7340, N. E. dial. wale 'to choose, select; good, excellent' 1): O. W. Scand., O. Swed. val sb. 'choice', O. W. Scand. velja 'to choose', O. Swed. vælia. Cf. O. H. G. wala, N. H. G. wahl, wählen.

M. E. warpen 'throw, bend, curvo' A. P., Alex. (Sk.), Townl., Pr. P. etc.: O. W. Scand. varpa 'throw, cast'. Cf. Morsbach, Me. Gramm. p. 156. It is sometimes difficult to distinguish from M. E. werpen (< O. E. weorpan). M. E. warpen a webbe is formed from O. E. wearp sb. 'a warp'.

M. E. wawilēzid (waugleeghed Dubl. MS.) Alex. (Sk.) 1706 is, in all probability, not the same word as M. E. waldēzed 'wall-eyed, with glaring eyes', which Kluge-Lutz, E. Et. derive from an O. E. wealdenīze, which I have not, however, been able to find in the O. E. literature.²) I derive the first member of M. E. wawilēzed from O. W. Scand. vagl, Swed. vagel 'a beam in the eye'; cf. O. W. Scand. vagleygr adj. 'saadan som har Vagel i Øiet, glosøiet' (Fritzner). Early mod. E. wauleeyed may be from the same source, although the two words (viz. M. E. wawilēzed and waldēzed) may have very early been confused as to form and meaning. In the Wars of Alex. ed. Skeat we meet with both forms (wawilēzid and waldēzed, the latter 608) without any perceptible difference of sense.

M. E. wehht, west 'weight' Orrm., Langl. P. Pl., Pr. C., A. P., Barb.: O. W. Scand. vætt f. 'weight' (tt < ht), O. Dan. vett (Jessen p. 277). The O. E. form is wiht (> M. E. wiht, wist). Although the distribution of the M. E. form in question seems to point to Scand. origin, the e-vowel may very well be due to the influence of the verb wesen 'to weigh'. The origin of the word has been dealt with by Sweet, H. E. S.² 316, Knigge p. 23, Morsbach, Schriftsprache p. 69, Kluge-Lutz, E. Et. s. v. weight.

M. E. -wer in pilewer 'pillow-case, cervical' (Napier, Mod.

¹⁾ The a in walen vb. and wale adj. is from the sb.

²⁾ Cf. O. W. Scand. valdeygör, Dan. dial. valdeiet adj. 'som har dryppende Øine, surøiet' (Molb., Dial.-Lex.). Skeat, Notes on Engl. Et. p. 316 seems to consider M. E. wawilēzed and waldēzed to be identical words.

Lang. Quarterly 1897 p. 52): O. W. Scand. ver 'covering', Swed. var (kuddvar, bolstervar etc.).

O. E. wīcing 'pirate' is recorded before the invasion times (Kluge, Grundr. Ip. 935), but as it refers chiefly to the Northmen, it is probably, in later times, an adoption of the Scand. word (O. W. Scand. vīkingr). — In M. E. times there is a word wykeng to be found, Calendar of Patent Rolls of Edward I 1281—1292 p. 490, cf. A. Bugge, (Norsk) Historisk Tidsskrift 1898 p. 51, which means a man from the Norwegian district Viken. It is generally assumed that wīcing 'pirate' meant originally the same; but it is strange to find the word in English at so early a date.

M. E. wikir 'vimen' Pr. P. 527: Swed. dial. vekare, vekker, vikker 'female tree of Salix pentandra', Dan. vegerkurv 'wickerbasket', vegger, vegre, vægger etc. 'a pliant rod' (Molbech, Dansk Glossarium, Dansk Dialektlexikon). Is the word akin to O. H. G. wih 'populus', O. E. wice 'witch-elm', N. E. wicken 'mountain-ash or rowan-tree' (Cent. D.)?

M. E. wīpe sb. 'upupa' Wr. Voc. 640, 15, 702, 1, 762, 10,
Pr. P. 530, N. E. dial. wipes sb. (E. Angl.) 'a plover' Wall p. 127
Norw. dial., Swed. vipa 'lapwing', Dan. vibe.

M. E. wisp, wips 'wisp, torques, mempirium, a small bundle' Leg. 91, Langl. P. Pl., Pr. P., Wr. Voc. 595, 35, Townl. M., compound ars-wisp 'manpirium, anitergium' Wr. Voc., Pr. P.: Norw. dial. visp 'a small broom or whisk', Swed. visp 'whisk, twirling-stick'.

O. E. witer, witter 'wise' Chr. 1067, M. E. witer 'knowing, wise, evident' Orrm., Laz., Gen. and Ex., Alex. (Sk.) etc.: O. W. Scand. vitr (the r is radical) 'wise'. Deriv. O. E. witran 'to inform' Sermo in festis Stæ Mariæ virginis, Wr. Voc. 123, 23, M. E. witeren 'to make wise, make sure' Laz., Jul., Jos., A. P., M. E. witerliche 'surely' Orrm., Gen. and Ex., Hav., Langl. P. Pl. etc.: O. W. Scand. vitra 'to manifest, lay open, reveal', O. W. Scand. vitrliga, Swed. veterligen. — Cf. Brate p. 65, Kluge, Grundr. I p. 935.

M. E. witnen 'attest, testify' A. R. 30, Will. 3462: O. W. Scand. vitna, Dan. vidne, Swed. vitna.1)

¹⁾ O. E. witnes Chr. E. 656 (pās sindon pā witnes pe pær wæron and pā pæt zewriten mid here fingre on Crīstes mēle) is possibly the plur. of an O. E. sb. *witne 'witness' < O. W. Scand. vitni, Swed. vittne, Dan. vidne. Cf. Kluge, Grundr. I p. 935. Otherwise Earle and Plummer, Glossary; a

List III.

Some words which have erroneously been derived from Scandinavian.

M. E. bablen, N. E. to babble 'to talk childishly, to prattle, chatter', is not a Scand. loan-word; it occurs in all Teutonic languages and is known in English as early as anywhere else, cf. N. E. D. M. E. bablyn 'to waver, oscillate, quiver, librillo' Pr. P. 20, babelynge 'vacillatio, librillatio' ibd., perhaps etymologically distinct from M. E. bablen 'to chatter', may possibly be borrowed from Scand.; cf. O. Dan. bable 'to vacillate (said of a light when the wind is blowing on it)', Kalkar.

M. E. bagel, baghel 'the staff or crosier of a bishop' is not from O. W. Scand. bagall, as is assumed in the N. E. D., but no doubt from Irish. It seems to me, for historical reasons, more probable that the Scandinavian word is from English, or that they are both from Irish; cf. Taranger, Den angelsaksiske Kirkes Indflydelse paa den norske p. 346, who calls O. W. Scand. bagall an Irish loan-word.

M. E. bannen 'to curse, anathemize, interdict'. O. E. bannan meant 'to summon', and Murray, N. E. D. thinks the senses 'to curse, anathemize, interdict', occurring first in north. dial., may be from Scand. But as he admits, the sb. ban 'anathemization, curse', which he does not derive from Scand., may have reacted upon the verb. In my opinion, the sense-development, whether originating in the sb. or in the vb., 1) may very well have taken place independently of Scandinavian. Cf. M. L. G. bannen 'to swear'.

M. E. big 'strong, validus, potens, rich, wealthy' I have tried to explain above p. 153 foot-note 1. Although its earlier

few lines before, the same people are called witnesse, n. pl. of witnes (ic bidde be broder Ædelred and mine swustre... bet ze beon witnesse), which in my opinion, speaks against Kluge's explanation of witnes.

^{&#}x27;) It seems to me the best explanation of the sense-development in question if we start from M. Lat. bannum, bannus 'a formal ecclesiastical denunciation, anathema, excommunication' (cf. M. E. pe popes banne, Germ. kirchenbann) and look upon this word as the original cause of the development of the meanings of the word in English as well as in Scandinavian. For historical points of view, I refer to W. Siekel, Zur Geschichte des Bannes, Marburger Universitätsprogramm 1886.

occurrence was chiefly northern, it would hardly be right to assume Scand. origin, as no fully corresponding Scand. word is known (only the non-mutated Norw. dial. bugge sb. 'a mighty man', bugga adj. 'rich, wealthy, powerful') and as g is no proof of Scand. introduction. I want to point this out here, as the quoted foot-note (p. 153) seems to have been misunderstood by Schmidt, Zur Heimatsbestimmung des Havelok, Göttingen 1900, p. 29, 84, who, referring to the same foot-note, gives the word as Scandinavian.

M. E. blunt 'blunt, dull, stupid' Orrm., A. P., Ch., Pr. P. — Stefansson, Academy 1890, p. 344 assumes Scand. origin: "now I submit that Orrm has treated blundr, blund [the part pple. of blunda] as adj. ptc. and in analogy with forrgarrt and want formed the neutr. blunt to be used for all genders". This explanation is rendered improbable by the intr. sense of the Scand. word blunda 'to close one's eyes'; blundr sb. means 'slumber, sleep'; cf. blundskaka 'to wink with the eyes', blundstafir 'sleep-giving, soporific runes'. Besides, the past ptc. cf. blunda was blundaðr, not *blundr. Neither is there any adj. blundr known in Scandinavian. I prefer — like Brate, P. B. B. X p. 34 — to consider blunt to be a native English word representing another ablaut than N. H. G. blintzeln.

M. E. chaft 'the jaw' C. M., Ant. Arth., Cath. Angl. is generally derived from O. W. Scand. kiaptr, kiaptr, Swed. käft (<*kiaft); thus also N. E. D. As there is no case known in which Scand. k has become English ch, 1 and as it is not probable that the following i (due to the Scand. breaking of an original e > ia), if developed in Scand. as early as the times of the Danelag, 1 has caused such a transition (ki > ch) in English, Scand. origin is to be rejected. I suppose the form to be due to a blending of M. E. chavel (< O. E. ceaft) and M. E. *keft (< Old Scand. kiaft-). It may be noted that in C. M. 7510 where the Cott. M. S. has chaftes the other MSS. have chaveles.

¹⁾ Stratm.-Bradley give a M. E. cheten 'to console, cheer' Hom. I 233, but this is evidently, as is pointed out by Morris, O. E. Hom. I p. 324, an error for cheren and cannot be derived from O. W. Scand. kæta 'to gladden'.

²⁾ In Scand. loan-words the source-words of which contain, in historical times, an ia (< e), we always find e (not *ia) e. g. M. E. skerre 'timid', ker 'marshy ground', fell 'mountain'; see next chapter.

M. E. daw(e)ning 'dawning' which has often been explained as borrowed from Scand. (O. Swed. daghning), is no doubt a genuine English formation from O. E. dazung 'dawn, daybreak', the n being due to the influence of morning, evening (concerning morning and its relationship to O. E. morzen, see Erdmann, Språkvetensk. Sällsk. i Upsala Förh. 1882—85 p. 138). The n in N. E. dawn is no doubt from the sb. dawning. This explanation of N. E. dawn, dawning, which seemed the only natural one to me several years ago, has in the meantime been given also by Köppel, Arch. CVI p. 34 f.

M. E. firre 'fir' (cf. firren adj. 'made of fir' Hav. 2078) is hardly, as has sometimes been supposed, a Scand. loan-word. Although it is not settled whether an O. W. Scand. fyra really existed (see Fritzner s. v.), there are forms with y recorded both in East and West Scand.; see Tamm p. 181, Jessen p. 70. The M. E. word is the equivalent of Mod. German Föhre. It is true that the rr offers some difficulties (stem *furhiōn), but it is not more easily accounted for by the assumption of Scandinavian origin.

N. E. glance cannot, as is generally supposed, be a Scand. loan-word, as the Scand. words (Swed. glans, Dan. glands) from which it has been derived are borrowed from German.

O. E. hamelian, M. E. hamelen 'to maim, mutilate' is not, as has often been supposed, a Scand. loan-word. In the Laws of Ælfred there is a sb. hamola 'a mutilated, maimed man' (cf. Liebermann, Arch. XCVIII p. 127). Cf. O. H. G. hamal 'maimed, mutilated', O. H. G. hamalôn 'to mutilate'. Native origin is assumed by Murray N. E. D., Jellinghaus, Anglia XX p. 465.

M. E. loken 'to lock', by many scholars derived from Scand., is native and probably formed from the sb. O. E., M. E. loc 'clausura'. The original form of the verb was O. W. Scand. lúka, O. E. lūcan; also O. W. Scand. loka vb. seems to be of secondary (nominal) origin. The explanation of the sb. lock given by Kluge-Lutz is not correct.

M. E. masen 'to maze, make or become dizzy', amasen 'amaze', which has very often been derived from Scand., is no doubt English. The p. pple amasod occurs in Wulfstans Homilies. Cf. Mayhew, E. St. XII p. 299, Skeat, Notes on Engl. Et. p. 4.

- M. E. slike 'smooth, sleek' Hav., Rom. Rose, Pall., Pr. P., N. E. sleek, slick has been derived from an alleged O. W. Scand. slikr 'sleek, smooth'. The existance of such an adj. is very doubtful. Cleasby and Vigfusson quote the word from a verse in Biarnar Saga: hrognkelsi likr var á holdi slikr. The meaning of this Scand. word is not at all settled; Egilsson translates it with 'lentus humor'. At any rate it does not seem advisable to base the Scand. origin of the M. E. slike on a word which has probably never existed in Scand.') I consider M. E. slike as well as the vb. slikien 'to polish, make smooth' native words.
- O. E. snædan 'to lunch', snæding 'lunch' is not, as is assumed by Kluge, Grundr. I p. 934, from O. W. Scand. snæða 'to take a meal', but the Scand. word is most certainly borrowed from English. The original sense of the word was 'to cut into slices'. Cf. Sweet, A.-S. Dictionary.

¹⁾ The O. W. Scand. slikr, whatever its meaning might have been, is proved by the rime (or assonance) to have contained 7. The vowel of the M. E. word was most probably short; cf. Luick, Unters. p. 293 f.

Chapter III. Miscellaneous Notes.

1.

The Scandinavian Invasion.

Several questions involved by the Scandinavian loan-word material cannot be weighed from every point of view without a fair knowledge of the history of the Scandinavion invasion. Thus the question of the dialectal provenience of the loanwords, which will be treated in this chapter, must necessarily be looked at in the light of historical facts. Before I proceed to treat this question I think a brief survey of the history of the Northmen in England would be useful for the better understanding of the subject referred to.

The first time we hear of Scandinavian pirates in England is in the following passage in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle for the year 787: her nam Beorhtric cing Offan dohtor Eadburge. And on his dazum comon ærest III scipa Nordmanna, and bā se zerēfa þær tō rād, and hīe wolde drīfan tō þæs cinges tune, by be he nyste hwæt hie wæron, and hine man bær ofsloh. bæt wæron ba ærestan scipu Deniscra manna be Anzelcynnes land zesohtan. One of the manuscripts offers instead of III scipa Norðmanna the reading: III scypu Norðmanna of Hæreðalande. All scholars who have dealt with this passage seem to agree about the meaning of the words Deniscra manna and to consider the last sentence to originate from a later time when all Vikings that visited England were called Danes. About the word Nordmen, on the other hand, opinions vary. Its meaning depends on the signification of the word Hæreðaland. Munch identified it with Hardesyssel in Denmark, Lappenberg, Maurer, Storm and others with Hordaland in Norway. Steenstrup declares the passage to be an error of the scribe for ofherian hat land. Bugge and Taranger 1) are of opinion that Hordaland is the only possible interpretation. Considerations of space forbid me entering on their arguments, which seem to me to be rather plausible. For our purposes it is, however, quite irrelevant of what nationality those Vikings were: during the first period of the Scandinavian invasion the object of the invaders seems to have been mere plunder, and it is not until the Northmen began to effect permanent settlements in the country (in the second half of the ninth century) 2) that they may be assumed to have exercised any influence worth mentioning on the development of the English language. In 793 the Northmen plundered the monastery of Lindisfarne and in the next year that of Wearmouth. After this England was freed from further assaults till the year 832. The previous ravages of the Vikings seem to have taken place in the north of England; this time they plundered the Isle of Sheppey. Next year they returned with 35 large ships, landed on the coast of Wessex and subsequently defeated the West-Saxon army at Charmouth in Dorsetshire. The Northmen now increased in number every year, and although they were defeated several times by the West-Saxon king Eczberht and his son Æthelwulf, they continued to harry and desolate the country with the utmost ferocity. They now spread over vast parts of the whole of England. In 851 the Vikings wintered for the first time in the Isle of Thanet. This marks a second period in the Scandinavian invasion. Before that date, they had always returned to their ships before the arrival of winter and sailed away with what they had collected. Now comes a time in which the Northmen begin to conquer land and settle in the country. The actual settlement did not, however, take place till about 865. In this year a numerous army of Vikings lands in the Isle of Thanet; the next year the Northmen winter in East-Anglia, whereupon they march north-

Taranger, Den angelsaksiske Kirkes Indflydelse paa den norske p. 19 ff.

²⁾ Freeman I p. 12, 44 f.

wards, cross the Humber and seize York; the conquest of Northumberland was now easily carried out. In 868 they seized Nottingham, whereupon the army returned to York and stopped there a year; in 870 they conquered East-Anglia after a terrible carnage and killed its King Eadmund. Northumberland and East-Anglia thus being under the sway of the invaders, the Mercians terror-stricken hastened to conclude a peace with them by which they became their tributaries. The supremacy of Wessex established by Eczberht1) was now reduced to a mere nothing after the loss of all her vassals north of the Thames. And soon the invasion was to threaten also the independence of Wessex. King Æthelred, supported by his younger brother Ælfred, offered a valiant resistance to the invaders.2) Æthelred died in the thick of the struggle and was succeeded by Ælfred (April 871). After some battles and smaller engagements, a sort of peace was made, and the Vikings at last retreated to the annexed parts of the country; Northumbria and a part of Mercia, whose last king was deposed, were constantly in their power, and the land was divided between them; the colonisation of Mercia went on rapidly. After some time, new attacks were made on Wessex, but Ælfred at first succeeded in saving his country. In the famous year of 878, however, his kingdom was threatened with perfect annihilation. A strong army of Northmen suddenly seized Chippenham and from thence spread, in powerful detachments, all over Wessex. A general panic arose, the inhabitants of the country had to choose between submission and flight. Ælfred himself, no hope of resistance being left, had to hide, with his small troop of followers, in the Isle of Athelney, among the marshes of Somersetshire. "Men might well deem", to use the words of Freeman, "that the Empire of Eczberht, and the Kingdom of Cerdic itself, had vanished for ever". It is too universally known to need further comment, how he watched closely, from the fort he had raised, the movements of his enemy, how he succeeded at last in gathering his troops to his standard and ultimately secured

1) Freeman I p. 41 f.

²⁾ For further details, see Worsaae, Den danske Erobring p. 94-97.

the victory. By the peace of Wedmore, the Northmen were bound to evacuate Wessex and part of Mercia, and Guthrum, the king of East-Anglia, adopted Christianity and in baptism received the name of Æthelstan. The Northmen, now nominally Ælfreds vassals, were granted the possession of a large part of England: the boundary between Ælfreds kingdom and the dominion of the Northmen started from the Thames, along the Lea to its source, then to Bedford and along the Ouse to Watling-street and then along Watling-street to the Welsh border.1) Roughly speaking, Watling-street became henceforth the boundary between Saxon and Scandinavian England. The Scandinavian colonies probably formed a conglomeration of small republics, with the exception of the kingdoms of East-Anglia and Northumbria. Cf. Grueber II p. LIII. - Towards the end of Ælfreds reign the struggle began again. An enormous Viking fleet, simultaneously with the fleet of the Norman chieftain Hesten (consisting of 80 ships), visited the shores of England and devastated the country. In this they were helped by the Northmen settled in East-Anglia and Northumbria. But at last quiet was restored and the Northmen were reduced at least in so far as to be forced to keep to the terms of the peace of Wedmore. How fearful the struggle must have been, is sufficiently shown by the words of the Chronicle (A. D. 897): "næfde se here, Godes honces, Angelcyn ealles forswide zebrocod!"

Ælfred was succeeded by his son Eadweard, who completed the work begun by his father. In this he was assisted by his sister Æthelfled, the "Lady of the Mercians", who built a range of fortresses against the Northmen. The latter had fortified the towns of Lincoln, Derby, Nottingham, Leicester and Stamford and from those strongholds, called the confederacy of the "Five Boroughs", had mastered the sorrounding country. Eadweard at first recovered from the Northmen the whole of Mercia, East-Anglia and Essex and ultimately received the submission of Northumberland. By the submission of Wales, Strathelyde and Scotland he became the over-lord of the

¹⁾ See e. g. Thorpe, Ancient Laws and Institutions p. 152 f., Freeman I p. 48 foot-note, Worsaae, Den danske Erobring p. 111, Steenstrup II p. 75, IV p. 38. From linguistic points of view it is of importance that London belonged, at least since 886, to the English dominion.

whole island. Through the famous battle of Brunanburh (937), Northumbria, which Eadweard had brought under his vassalage, was made an integral portion of the kingdom by Eadweard's son and successor, Æthelstan. During the reigns of his brothers Eadmund and Eadred, the Northumbrians revolted several times, and time after time succeeded in setting up kings of their own. In 954 their last king Yric (the Norwegian ex-king Eirîkr Blóðex) was expelled by themselves and they submitted to Eadred. Thus that Scandinavian colony which had resisted the English annexations longer than the others, ceased to exist as an independent state. Still there are reasons for believing that all Scandinavian England continued to be governed by "Danish law" and retained a certain independence.1) During the following 35 years we hear very little of Scandinavian invasions.2) We have reason to believe that the relations between the English and Scandinavians settled in England now grew, on the whole, less hostile; the Christianisation of the latter was now completed,3) which may have led to a partial reconciliation of the two races. This is illustrated by the friendly relations of King Eadgar to the Scandinavian settlers (see Steenstrup III p. 174 ff., Freeman I p. 464, Worsaae, Den danske Erobring p. 229 ff.). It is even known that Northmen settled in England, or descendants of Northmen took service under the English kings against the later invasions of the Vikings.4) Those Scandinavian settlers and their offspring were land-owners and quite as much exposed to the ravages of their kinsmen as the English themselves; intermarriage must also have tied the two races more closely together.

The wars which began towards the end of the tenth century formed the first step towards the third period of the

1) Cf. Grueber II p. LXV, Steenstrup III p. 62, 175 ff.

3) Cf. Worsaae, Den danske Erobring p. 222 ff.

²⁾ Chr. 966: Her pored Gunneres sunu forherzode Westmörinzaland; Chr. 980—982, 988 tells us of several piratical incursions. None of these incursions seems to have led to any settlement.

⁴⁾ Thus the Chronicle tells us that the East-Angles fought on the English side against the Vikings in 992. Of the East-Angles a great percentage were, no doubt, descendants of the Scandinavians who had settled there during the second half of the 9th cent.

invasions. The time of mere local settlement was superseded by a time of political conquest.1) In 991 a serious Scandinavian attack, seemingly with the intention of making a settlement, was made on the East of England. After the battle of Maldon, in which the English were defeated, the Northmen were bought off by King Æthelred; a considerable number of them seem, nevertheless, to have settled in the country.2) Next year the Northmen were defeated in a naval battle, whereupon they turned their course northward, attacked Northumbria and ravaged the country on both sides of the Humber (993). The inhabitants of these parts were no doubt, to a great extent, Scandinavians or of Scandinavian descent, but they seem at first to have offered a strong resistance to the pirates. The treason of their leaders, who seemed also to have been of Scandinavian descent, secured the field to the invaders.3) This was the direct forerunner of an event which all at once opens the third period of the Scandinavian invasions. According to the Chronicle, Anlaf4) and Swezen5) sailed up the Thames with 94 ships and laid siege to London (994). Their attempts on the town failed and they sailed away and ravaged the coasts of Essex, Kent, Sussex and Hampshire; at last they obtained possession of horses and rode through the country, pillaging, burning and murdering. 6) Again the invaders were bought off by the king with a considerable sum of money. Although Anlaf, mainly from religious reasons, was prevailed upon to promise never more to invade England and sailed away to his own country, and although Swezen, too, soon went on

2) Freeman I p. 311.

4) By O. W. Scand. historians called Sveinn Tiuguskegg, Danish Svend Tveskjæg. Swezen (Sveinn) was since 988 king of Denmark.

¹⁾ Cf. Freeman I p. 306. The fleet of the Northmen is said to have consisted of 390 ships, Steenstrup III p. 228.

³⁾ O. W. Scand. *Olafr Tryggvason*, killed in the battle of Svoldern (1000). He was not yet, at that time, king of Norway, as Freeman wrongly calls him.

⁵⁾ Chron. 994: and hī þanon ferdon and wrohton þæt mæste yfel þe æfre æniz here dön mihte on bærnette and herzunge and on manslihtum æzðer be öām særiman on East-Seaxum and on Cent-lande and on Sūð-Seaxum and on Hamtūn scīre. and æt nyxtan nāman heom hors. and ridon swā wīde swā hī woldon, and unaseczendlice yfel wircende wæron.

other expeditions and did not return in person to England till 1003, the ravages of the Northmen were renewed on a terrible scale especially in the years 997—99 and 1001. In 1001 they were bought off by the sum of 24,000 pounds. It is probable that a great part of those Scandinavian troops were sent out by Swezen to weaken the power of Wessex. The East and North of England, where the Scandinavian settlers lived, were left in peace. As the Vikings did not, as a rule, hesitate to invade the coasts of the Scandinavian countries, it is improbable that they now abstained from visiting those parts of England merely because of their being populated by men of their own race. The object of the invaders was now certainly not mere plunder; their aim was, no doubt, chiefly of a political nature, namely to do preparatory work for a definite conquest of England.

The terrible massacre of the "Danes" on Saint Brice's Day 1002, on which occasion Gunhild, the sister of Swezen, was put to death, called for vengeance on the part of the Danish king. In 1003 he sailed to England and ravaged Wessex; next year he turned to East-Anglia, a part of the country largely populated by Northmen and descendants of Northmen. He harried and burned Norwich, the chief town of East-Anglia, and plundered the country. A stubborn resistance was offered to him by the East-Anglian commander Ulfcytel, a man proved by his name to have been of Scandinavian origin. In 1005 the Danish king sailed home; next year a new invasion began which must have been particularly severe.2) A heavy tribute was again paid to the sea-rovers (1007). Thus two years' respite was obtained. But in 1009 several fleets or detachments, one of them commanded by the famous Jarl Thureytel, attacked several parts of the South of England. Next year East-Anglia was overrun and Ulfcytel defeated in the battle of Ringmere, chiefly owing to the treachery of his Danish thegn Thureytel. The whole of the country, with the exception of Northumberland and the western and northern shires

1) Cf. Worsaae, Den danske Erobring p. 256.

²⁾ Chr. 1006: He hæfdon ælce scire on West-Sexum stide zemarcod mid bryne and mid herzunge.

of Mercia, were terribly ravaged by fire and sword. The power of resistance of the English being now thoroughly exhausted, peace was bought at the enormous price of 48000 pounds (1011). As this sum could not, however, be fully paid at once, the ravages continued for some time. The Jarl Thurcytel, who was now probably baptised, joined the English in 1012, and he and his men became a faithful body-guard of the English king against their own countrymen. Swezen, who had not visited England for nine years, now appeared again. In 1013 he sailed to Sandwich in Kent. But he abstained from further ravages in the South of England, probably from fear of his old enemy Thureytel.1) Instead, he turned to the districts which were largely populated by men of his own race. Northumbria and soon the whole Danelag (from the sea to Watling-street) submitted to him without resistance and acknowledged him as their king. Then he proceeded with his force, largely recruited in the Danelag, across Watling-street, and as soon as he had entered what was strictly English territory, he began the most fearful ravages. At last he was acknowledged king of the whole country (1013). Thureytel and his men still stood by their oaths to the West-Saxon King Æthelred and took him under their protection, and we now witness a curious state of things: "the monarchy of Cerdic was now", to use the words of Freeman, "confined to the decks of forty-five Scandinavian war-ships. If the West-Saxon banner was anywhere displayed, it could have been only on the masts of Thureytel and his sea-rovers".

After a short reign Swezen died (1014), and Æthelred was restored to the throne by the English witan. Swezen's son Cnut, who had been elected king by the Danish fleet, 2) was proclaimed an outlaw from England and driven out of the country. But he returned in 1015 and invaded Wessex, which soon submitted to him. In 1016 he marched with a mixed force of Danes and West-Saxons against Mercia and soon the whole country, with the exception of London, was

2) Freeman I p. 404.

¹⁾ Th. had belonged to the Vikings of Jomsborg, who were once Swezen's deadly foes. Cf. Worsaae, Den danske Erobring p. 244 f., 270.

in his power.1) On the death of Æthelred, Cnut was chosen king by all the witan, with the exception of those of London, who elected Æthelred's son Eadmund. The latter soon succeeded in recovering Wessex, and a violent fight arose between the two rival kings. In four of five pitched battles Eadmund was victorious, but was beaten in the sixth, the murderous battle of Assandun. Among those who fell is to be noted the above-mentioned Ulfcytel. The kingdom was now divided between Eadmund and Cnut. But the death of Eadmund (Nov. 1016) soon made Cnut, there being no competitors, king of the whole realm. His election by the witan of all England took place in Jan. 1017. The accession of Cnut to the English throne put an end to the Scandinavian invasions. Cnut, the King of all England and of all Denmark (and Norway), became much more an English than a Danish king and valued England, the centre and the seat of government of his empire, most of all his dominions, whereas Denmark and Norway became practically dependencies of England. "And he not only identified himself with England; he identified himself in a special manner with the purely Saxon part of England."2) He went so far in his preference for England that Englishmen were largely substituted for Danes in the highest offices, while he banished or executed a considerable number of Danes. The greater part of the Danish fleet was sent back to Denmark, and no wars were carried on within English territories during the eighteen years of his reign. The Scandinavian settlements may have increased during his reign,3) but they must have taken place in a peaceful way; and in the laws, no distinction was made between Scandinavians and Englishmen.4) At any rate, the English had no reason to complain, and we may justly assume

¹⁾ It is a remarkable fact that West-Saxons and Danes commanded by a Danish leader (joined by the West-Saxon traitor Eadric) went to fight against a population largely consisting of Scandinavians and descendants of Scandinavians but reigned and commanded by the West-Saxon Ætheling Eadmund (Freeman I p. 414).

²⁾ Freeman I p. 448.

³⁾ A large Danish colony seems now to have settled in London, see Freeman I p. 538; they had a burial-place of their own, Freeman I p. 572.

⁴⁾ There was a difference, but of a merely local character, so far that the inhabitants of the Danelag were subjected to laws differing from

that the amalgamation of the two races proceeded undisturbedly. Those who were still heathens were Christianized, not only in England but also in Denmark, which was provided with bishops and other ecclesiastics from England. After the death of Cnut (1035), some parts of the country (Northumberland, Mercia and London) elected Harold, the supposed son of Cnut and his concubine or Danish wife Ælfzifu of Northhampton, while the West-Saxons elected the king of Denmark Harthaenut, son of Cnut and his queen Emma. 1) Soon the union between Wessex and Denmark was broken: Harthacnut was deposed by the West-Saxons and Harold elected their king (1037), but on Harold's death (1040) the Danish king was chosen by the witan of all England. The heavy Danegelds which were imposed by Harthacnut and the brutal way in which they were extorted by his Danish body-guard (the "Housecarls"), the merciless burning of Worcester and the ravaging of Worcestershire were not acts of Danish oppression; all the subjects of the land, English and Danish, had to suffer from those taxes and ravages and they were not inflicted by Danes as Danes on Englishmen as Englishmen.2) The Danes settled in England and their English fellow-subjects may therefore be supposed to have lived still in friendly relations with each other. The fierce civil wars in Northumbria, going on from generation to generation, and especially sanguinary during Harthacnut's reign, were hardly of a racial character, but were largely hereditary contests in which the Northumbrian Danes and Norwegians took a lively part. After the death of Harthacnut (1042), we hear very little of Scandinavians in England.3) No doubt, the amalgamation of English and Scandinavians (also those of the last importation, during the

those of the other parts of the country; but whether those inhabitants were Danes or Englishmen was thoroughly indifferent.

¹⁾ The apparent motives of the two parties for their choice (as represented by Freeman I p. 535 ff.) throw some light on the provincial feelings of the time, and is also interesting from the point of view of the feelings of the Danish provinces compared with those of the West-Saxons.

²⁾ Freeman I p. 578 f., II p. 127.

³⁾ There was an opposition to Eadward's election, apparently in the interest of the king of Denmark and no doubt upheld chiefly by the Danish followers of Harthacout cf. Freeman II p. 9, 11.

reigns of Cnut and Harthacnut) now went on rapidly. The predilection of Eadward the Confessor for Normans, his Normanizing tendencies in general and the struggle between natives (the Scandinavian settlers included) and foreigners for dominion may have tended largely to the consolidation of the former foes, a consolidation which must have been complete after the Norman conquest. This is fairly illustrated by the great number of Scandinavian proper names of persons the bearers of which were most decidedly English in all respects. Thus, several of the children of Godwine, the great Earl of the West-Saxons, were called by names of Scandinavian origin (Harold, Swezen, Tostiz, Gunhild); which is, in this case, as in many others, accounted for by their Scandinavian mother (Freeman II p. 35 f.). And the illegitimate child of the Englishman Swegen, son of Godwine, with the Abbess of Leominster, was called by the Scandinavian name Hakon (Freeman II p. 891). We also find — even from the middle of the 10th century - numerous ecclesiastics called by Scandinavian names, a fact that also points to the social levelling of the two nationalities.1) — The Scandinavians soon learned to identify themselves with the land in which they had settled and to live as Englishmen under the Laws of England.2) Their language, which must comparatively early have been largely mixed up with English elements, differed so very little from the English tongue that they could hardly, in this respect, be looked upon by their English kinsmen as aliens in the strictest sense. It is true that Northumberland retained for a long time the distinct character of a separate state, governed, for the most part, by Danish earls. But the rising of Northumberland against Godwine's son, Tostiz, who had been appointed Earl of the Northumbrians by Eadward (1055), did not break out until 10 years after the appointment of Tostiz and was wholly justified by his tyranny. Northumbria had hitherto, ever since the time when she chose her own kings, been ruled by Earls chosen from

¹⁾ See the Index to Freeman's Hist. of the Norm. Conquest, Worsaae, Den danske Erobring p. 225 f. As an example the name Thurstan may serve. There are in this Index to be found one Archbishop and three Abbots called by this name.

²⁾ Cf. Freeman II p. 127.

among her own people: the distrust with which the West-Saxon Tostiz must have been received in Northumberland 1) was rather due to local jealousy and to the feeling of provincial independence than to the feelings of Scandinavians towards Englishmen. The names of those who attended the rebel assembly at which Tostiz was deposed show that Englishmen as well as men of Scandinavian descent took part in the revolt.2) In the same light we have to look upon the refusal of the Northumbrians, in the first instance, to acknowledge Harold (1066).3) When Harold Hardrada the same year invaded Northumbria, a stubborn resistance, though finally unsuccessful, was offered to him in the battle of Fulford, and when, after the surrender of York, the Northumbrians agreed to follow Harold against southern England, we have no right to ascribe this agreement to any racial sympathies with the Norwegian invaders but to quite different motives and circumstances.4) On the contrary, when Harold, the English king, delivered York from the Northmen, he was received with joy: "provincial jealousies were lulled for a moment in the actual presence of the enemy, and the Danes and Angles of York pressed eagerly to welcome the West-Saxon deliverer".5) And the Northumbrians, no doubt, gladly aided the English king in the decisive battle of Stamfordbridge. When in 1069 the English coast was once more visited by a Scandinavian fleet, things had changed in every respect. The Danish king was now welcomed as an ally against the Norman oppressor, and equally so by the English and their Scandinavian fellow-subjects, who had both now merged, in many respects, into one people; 6) and not only Northumbria, but all England, would, no doubt, have preferred the kindred king of Denmark and his Danes to the Normans.7)

¹⁾ Freeman II p. 376 ff.

²⁾ Freeman II p. 483 f.

³⁾ Freeman III p. 59.

^{&#}x27;) Freeman III p. 352 f.

⁵⁾ Freeman III p. 363.

⁶⁾ Worsaae, Den dauske Erobring p. 383, Symeon of Durham, Historia regum § 153: Affuit et Cospatricus comes cum totis viribus Northymbrorum, unanimiter omnes contra Normannos congregati.

⁷⁾ Concerning this, the last Danish invasion, I refer to Freeman IV p. 247 ff., 253 ff., 266 ff., 283 ff.

I have now to enter on a few questions of a more linguistic character. A problem which is of the greatest interest but which seems utterly impossible to solve definitely is: how long did the Scandinavians in England continue speaking their own language? The records here leave us entirely in the lurch. After the Norman conquest, the contrast of nationality between English and Scandinavians must have disappeared thoroughly during their conjoint struggle against the new invader. Still, the Scandinavian settlers may have kept on speaking their original tongue - although largely mixed with English elements - for a long time after the conquest, but nevertheless have been regarded as countrymen by the English: the two idioms differed so very little from each other, that they may have been looked upon nearly as dialects of one language, the English language. The fact that we never hear of "Danes" settled in England after some 10 years after the Norman conquest,1) therefore, does not necessarily prove the extinction of the northern tongue in the 11th century. Neither does the total absence of Scandinavian linguistic records of those times prove anything to the contrary. Even the English literary monuments of the parts of England where the Northmen settled are extremely scarce before the 13th century; and besides, we may rightly assume that the Northmen, who did not know, on their first arrival in England, any other alphabet than the Runes, were taught to write in English by their English kinsmen and therefore, when writing, availed themselves of the English (West-Saxon) language; 2) even the English of the non-West-

¹⁾ The Laws of Henry I (1100—1135) still retain the old division of England into 3 parts, one of which is "Danorum provincia", and distinguish between West-Saxon, Mercian and Danish Law (cf. Symeon of Durham, who died about 1135: sunt hæ 32 sciræ divisæ per tres leges, West-Sexenalaga, Denelaga, Merchenalaga), but although the Scandinavian language was probably still talked in England during his reign, this is not necessarily proved by the facts in question, which may be due merely to tradition.

²⁾ In MS. Cotton Caligula A. XV 4º there are two lines written with runic letters in the Scandinavian language; see Bugge, En olddansk Rune-optegnelse i England, Aarbøger f. nord. Oldkyndigh. og Hist. 1899 p. 263 ff. As for other runic monuments in the Scandinavian language found in England, see Worsaae, Den danske Erobring p. 223 foot-note 1, p. 410 foot-note 3,

Saxon parts of England may be assumed towards the end of the O. E. period to have largely written, not in their own dialects, but in West-Saxon, owing to the literary supremacy of that idiom. But it is probable, too, that the Scandinavians, also when speaking, availed themselves early of English; they were, no doubt, to a great extent, bilingual, like so many inhabitants of districts, the idiom of which differs perceptibly from what is considered to be the standard language of a country. And this may also account for the fact that Scandinavian settlers are not mentioned after the conquest.

As has been pointed out before, the Scandinavian invasions fall into three periods. During the first period (787—about 860) the object of the invaders was mere plunder; during this period no linguistic influence, worth mentioning, of Scandinavian on English could take place.

The second period (about 860—about 990) was a period of settlement. Most of those settlements took place during the last half of the 9th century. Vast parts of the country were now in the possession of the Northmen and retained the character of distinct states for more than 100 years. The English of the districts subjugated by the invaders were very likely often forced to learn the language of the masters of the land; a good deal of the sense of nationality among the English of Northumbria seems to have rallied round the Scandinavian kings of that country and we find an Archbishop of York, Wulfstan, who was an Englishman, taking the part of those kings against the West-Saxons. In some districts the English were perhaps wholly Scandinavianized; a for very

Stephens Old-North. Run. Mon. I 223, II 663, II 310. The Roman-lettered inscription on the sundial of Skelton, Yorksh., is considered by Stephens IV p. 49 to be Norwegian.

¹⁾ A fragment of an Old English letter in which the letter-writer complains of the demoralizing influence of the Danes on English customs, is most instructive in several respects. The letter in question is published by Kluge, E. St. VIII p. 62; cf. also Roeder, Die Familie bei den Angelsachsen p. 128 f. The English residing in the Scandinavian colonies adopted the Scandinavian style of dressing. As late as in 1084 the population of Northumberland is said to have dressed after the Scandinavian fashion; when in this year the Danish king threatened to invade Northumberland, the inhabitants were commanded to assume another way of

interesting analogies in the relations between Irishmen and Northmen, see A. Bugge, Aarbøger f. nord. Oldkynd. og Hist. 1900 p. 281 ff. This consideration makes the question of the mutual relations of English and Scandinavian still more entangled. The English, who learned the Scandinavian language, retained. of course, some peculiarities of their original language, other peculiarities of English may have also been adopted by the Northmen, and in some instances the result was presumably a more or less Anglicized Scandinavian dialect. 1) words may have been introduced from English into Scandinavian and subsequently, before the extinction of the latter language, have found their way back again into English.2) What from linguistic points of view is most important, is that the settlers, as a rule, did not bring women with them to their new country; there were exceptions to this rule, but they cannot, on the whole, have been very numerous, at least not during the first periods of the settlement.3) Rapes of English women by the Northmen were, during the first time, very frequent; in Ireland the Vikings behaved in the same way (Bugge, Aarb. f. nord. Oldkynd. 1900 p. 280 f.). The Northmen, no doubt, as a rule married English women, and these women were, most likely, forced to learn the language of their husbands; their offspring became probably more or less bilingual;4) what they learned

dressing in order not to be taken for friends by the Danes, see Lappenberg II p. 142, Worsaae, Minder p. 224. If the English adopted the customs of the Danes, we may conjecture that those who lived in their colonies also adopted their language.

¹⁾ The constant stream of new settlers from Scandinavia must, of course, have contributed to keep the Scandinavian language alive.

²⁾ Cf. above p. 4 foot-note 3.

³) The numerous Scandinavian names of women found on English ground in the later part of the Danelag times belonged largely to women of Scand. descent on the paternal side born in England. It is a well-known fact, which has been pointed out for the first time by Steenstrup I p. 270—273, that the Vikings were often accompanied by women and children; but it seems to me quite natural that the women must, at any rate, have been considerably less numerous than the men.

⁴⁾ John of Wallingford, who died in 1214, tells us that the Danes made themselves too acceptable to the English women by their elegant manners and their care of their persons; they combed their hair daily and took a bath every Saturday. Cf. Freeman I p. 344 foot-note.

first was the language of their mothers, and after this they acquired the idiom of the male part of the population.

The numerous Scandinavian loan-words in English would also hardly be accounted for without the assumption that individuals of English nationality (or English-speaking individuals of Scandinavian descent) endeavoured to acquire the Scandinavian language. This is proved by numerous analogies. Thus the Celtic languages in England have not influenced English to any considerable extent. The Celts had to learn English and because of that the Celtic languages adopted numerous English ingredients, whereas the English were not obliged to learn any Celtic idiom and therefore their language was left practically intact by the languages of the Celts. Cornish was, before its final extinction, very rich in English elements, but the present dialect of Cornwall does not contain any large amount of words of Cornish origin.1) The same was the case with the Celtic languages of Gaul in their relations to the language of the Romans. The Scandinavian loan-words in Celtic languages (Craigie, Arkiv f. nord. filologi X p. 148-166) also show that some Celtic tribes must have learned to make themselves understood in Scandinavian. In short, it is not so much the foreign language, learned by an individual or by a whole population, that adopts peculiarities from the original language; on the contrary, such peculiarities are adopted on a much larger scale by the original language from the language which is learned.2)

¹⁾ Cf. Jago, The ancient Language and the Dialect of Cornwall, 1882.
2) Concerning this and similar questions I refer to an excellent paper by Windisch, entitled "Zur Theorie der Mischsprachen und Lehnwörter" in Berichte der Königl. sächs. Gesellsch. der Wissenschaften, Leipzig 1897 p. 101 ff.; p. 104: "Nicht die erlernte fremde Sprache, sondern die eigene Sprache eines Volkes wird unter dem Einfluss der fremden Sprache zur Mischsprache". This paper is largely based on the investigations of Schuchardt. Cf. also Förster, Beiblatt zur Anglia XI p. 242. Possibly this sentence does not, however, hold true in an absolute sense, as far as the relations of English and Scandinavian of those early times are concerned. It is to be taken into account that English and Scand. were at those times much more alike than the languages dealt with by Schuchardt and Windisch. The commingling of English and Scand., therefore, could have taken place in a somewhat different way; cf. Luick, Archiv CVII p. 414.

The last period of the Scandinavian invasion (about 990 -1016) was a period of political conquest. This conquest must - among other results - also have caused some changes in the linguistic relations between English and Scandinavian; at least things now became thoroughly different from what they had been during the first part of the preceding period. During the reigns of Cnut and Harthacnut a fresh importation of settlers is likely to have taken place. But those must have maintained quite a different position towards the English from the settlers of the last half of the 9th century. The latter were the masters of the Danelag and fortified their frontiers against the English. The English population of the Danelag, or at least that of the "Five Boroughs", no doubt, was at first politically subjected to the Scandinavians. During the reign of Cnut no political distinction was made between the two races.1) Cnut himself was more English than Danish in his feelings and sympathies. It is hardly probable that Danish was the official language at his court. The Danes who came with him from Denmark most likely had to learn English, and it is not probable that any political circumstances forced the English to acquire the mother tongue of their king.2) The Anglo-Scandinavian dialects which had lived in the Danelag since the 9th century, although reinforced to some extent by newly arrived settlers, may be supposed to have developed in the same direction as before, independently of the Danish conquest of England. In some parts of the Danelag, English may have early had the upper hand and caused the extinction of the Scandinavian language, although not without the previous

¹⁾ In this connexion attention may be called to the interesting fact that the word Dane occurs as a dialect word with the meaning 'a redhaired man (a term of reproach)', but only in Nhp., Brks., Hrt., e. A., Suss., Wil., Som., Cor., not, strictly speaking, in the dialects of the former Danelag. The explanation is that the population of the districts where the word occurs had in old days only known the Scandinavians as invaders, whereas the inhabitants of the old Danelag are to a great extent descendants of the settlers.

²⁾ In these views I differ somewhat from Förster, Anglia Beiblatt XI p. 242, who thinks that it was during the reigns of Cnut and Harthacnut that the English "durch ein Gravitieren äusserer Umstände bestrebt waren, die altnord. Sprache sich anzueignen".

adoption of Scandinavian loan-words.¹) In other parts, where the settlers were more numerous, the Scandinavian languages may have lived longer; the close connection with the English (especially the marriages of the Northmen with English women) must have resulted in numerous loan-words from English, in some districts more, in some less. The Scandinavian loan-words must therefore be supposed to represent different strata, introduced at different times, according to the history of every separate settlement, into the English language, and chiefly into the English idiom talked by the bilingual offspring of Scandinavian fathers and English mothers.

The Northmen are constantly called Danes in the records. Nevertheless there is no doubt that also Norwegians took part in the settlements. But we do not know anything about this until the beginning of the 10th century. In 905 we find for the first time the Norwegian word hold.2) In the Chronicles Norwegians are mentioned only once in prose (Chr. 924: ealle hā be on Norhymbrum būzeah æzher ze Englisce ze Denisce ze Norhmen ze oðre) and twice in poetry (Steenstrup III p. 91). The relations between Northumbria and Dublin in the 10th century also show that the Norwegian element in Northumbria was rather important; cf. Taranger p. 25 ff. 3) kings of Northumbria all came from Dublin,4) and Dublin was the residence of Norwegian kings;5) Irish Chronicles give the kings of Northumbria the title "ri Finngall & Dubhgall" ('lord of the white and black foreigners'), 'white foreigners' denoting Norwegians and 'black foreigners' Danes. 6) Also

¹⁾ This point of view agrees with the fact that in the Mod. E. dialects of the former Danelag the loan-words are much more numerous in some districts than in others.

²) Steenstrup III p. 91, Taranger p. 28, Björkman, Dial. Prov. p. 7.

³⁾ Worsaae holds — from the evidence of the place-names — the Norwegians to have settled chiefly in the northern, the Danes in the southern parts of Northumbria. See Worsaae, Minder p. 105, Den danske Erobring p. 183.

⁴⁾ Steenstrup III p. 94 f.

⁵⁾ A. Bugge, Contributions to the History of the Norsemen in Ireland, I The Royal Race of Dublin, Videnskabselskabets Skrifter, Christiania 1900.

⁹⁾ Steenstrup III p. 19 f., 91, Bugge l. c. p. 9.

in the Five Boroughs we find Norwegians.1) In 980 Chester was, according to Florence, devastated by 'Norwagenses piratæ'. Among the chieftains of the Viking army which began to ravage England in 991, was the Norwegian prince Ólafr Tryggvason (see above p. 268), and we may assume that he was accompanied by a great number of Norwegians. The western coasts of England were very often harrassed by Northmen settled in Ireland or by Vikings who had before visited Ireland, the Isle of Man or other Isles, cf. Steenstrup III p. 57 ff., Taranger p. 26 f., Flom p. 2. Of those Vikings a very large percentage must have been Norwegians. This is especially proved by Irish records.2) As early as in 911 "black and white foreigners" are reported by the so-called three fragments, one of the most trustworthy of Irish annals, to have visited England.3) Great numbers of those Northmen effected permanent settlements, especially in Cheshire, Lancashire, Cumberland and Westmoreland. In the two latter counties their settlements were exceedingly important.4)

2.

The Dialectal Provenience of the Scand. Loan-words.

This question has been previously dealt with by myself in my essay "Zur dialektischen Provenienz der nordischen Lehnwörter im Englischen" in Språkvetenskapliga Sällskapets i Upsala Förhandlingar 1897—1900 p. 1—28 (Upsala, Universitets Årsskrift 1900), where I quote the opinions of others on p. 2, foot-note 1. Subsequently some other contributions to the question have been published by Flom in the Publications of the Mod. Language Association of America XV, LXXVII and in Columbia University Germanic Studies Vol. I, No. I (Scandinavian Influence on Southern Lowland Scotch p. 72 ff.). I proceed here to sum up briefly the results already arrived at and to add a few contributions which I have come across

¹⁾ Steenstrup III p. 93, Taranger p. 34 ff.

²⁾ A. Bugge l. c.

³⁾ Steenstrup III p. 35.

⁴⁾ Steenstrup III p. 61 f., Fergusson, The Northmen in Cumberland and Westmoreland, London 1856 p. 1—27.

since my essay in question was published. In order to render the material as reliable as possible I do not give here any of the words treated of above p. 226 ff.

I. Words of distinct or probable West Scandinavian origin.

a) Conclusions to be drawn from the form of the words.

M. E. bole 'bull' Hav. 2438, see above p. 179 foot-note 1.
M. E. bon 'prayer, request', N. E. boon, see above p. 205,
Dial. Prov. p. 5.

M. E. $b\bar{u}$ 'stock of cattle on a farm', see above p. 206,

Dial. Prov. p. 4.

M. E. $b\bar{u}$ 'dweller, inhabitant', see above p. 206, Dial. Prov. p. 4.

M. E. būn 'ready, prepared', N. E. bound, see above p. 206,

Dial. Prov. p. 3.
M. E. busken 'to prepare, get ready, deck, adorn etc.',
N. E. busk, see above p. 137, Dial. Prov. p. 4.

M. E. $l\bar{\imath}re$ 'face, look, complexion', see above p. 115. \bar{y} in O. W. Scand. $hl\bar{y}r$ 'cheek' is due to *R-mutation, which is rare in O. E. Scand. Moreover no corresponding word is found in E. Scand.

M. E. weng 'a wing', see above p. 225, Dial. Prov. p. 6.

O. E. papan 'thence', see above p. 167, Dial. Prov. p. 6.

M. E. preue 'bundle, number', see above p. 223, Dial. Prov. p. 6.

b) Other cases.

M. E. addlen 'to acquire, earn', N. E. dial. addle, see above p. 159, 199, Dial. Prov. p. 8.

M. E. bāre sb. 'wave', N. E. bore, see above p. 88. O. W. Scand. bára, Norw. baare may be connected with Swed. dial. bâr 'hill' (Rietz p. 71), but the sense of the Engl. word renders its W. Scand. origin probable.

M. E. bein 'direct, prompt, ready', N. E. dial. bain 'flexible, ready, willing etc.', see above p. 40. The word also occurs in Swedish, but only in dialects adjacent to Norway (Rietz p. 28).

M. E. biseninge 'ill-boding, monstrous' Barb. Leg. II, 129, Scotch bysning adj. 'strange, monstrous, terrible', bysning sb.

'a strange person, an unusually unfortunate person', see Flom p. 32, 73.1)

M. E. ender, enders etc. 'latter, last past', see above p. 208,

Dial. Prov. p. 8.

M. E. farand 'pleasing, handsome', N. E. dial. farrand, see above p. 209, Dial. Prov. p. 8.

M. E. fowen 'to clean, cleanse', see above p. 89.

M. E. gill, gille 'ravine', N. E. dial. gill, see above p. 153 f.
The word is connected with Swed. gäl 'gill of a fish', see Noreen, Sv. etym. p. 36.

M. E. glaumen 'to make a noise, yelp', see above p. 69.

The word does not seem to occur in E. Scand.

M. E. greiðen, grezzþenn 'to prepare, furnish', N. E. dial. graithe, see above p. 43, Dial. Prov. p. 9.

O. E. hamele 'oar-thong, row-lock', see above p. 212, Dial.

Prov. p. 9.

M. E. heming 'part of the skin of a deer', see above p. 213, Dial. Prov. p. 10.

O. E. hold 'freeholder', see above p. 5, Dial. Prov. p. 7.

M. E. quainen 'to lament', see above p. 46. I have not found any corresponding word in E. Scand.

M. E. scāld 'poet', see above p. 96, 121, Dial. Prov. p. 121.

M. E. nīten 'to deny', see above p. 217.

M. E. scāle sb. 'shanty', see above p. 93, 121.

O. E. scezð etc. 'a light, swift vessel', see above p. 38 f., Dial. Prov. p. 9, foot-note 4.

M. E. skūten 'to project', see above p. 134.

N. E. scout 'to ridicule an idea', see above p. 134 f.

M. E. tait adj. 'joyous, lively', sb. 'joy', see above p. 50. I have not found the word in E. Scand.

M. E. tīnen 'to lose', see above p. 116. Rietz gives a Swed. dial. tuna 'to kill, beat, castigate, punish'.

A few words more might perhaps have been given here as possibly rather of West Scandinavian than East Scandinavian origin, especially if we start from the special meanings of the words. But I have not found any words in which such differ-

¹⁾ Cf. O. W. Scand. búsn 'monster'. The English word ought to have been given above p. 204

ences are conspicuous enough to enable as to draw any conclusions as to their dialectal provenience. And of course we must exclude from this discussion words of doubtful Scandinavian origin.¹)

II. Words of distinct or probable East Scandinavian origin.

a) Conclusions to be drawn from the form of the words.

The question of the East Scand. monophthongisation of Scand. ei, ei in the loan-words has been discussed Dial. Prov.

¹⁾ Most of the words given by Flom, Scand. Infl. p. 73 f. as West. Scand, are irrelevant for the discussion of the dialectal provenience of the loan-words. Such words as apert 'bold', bauch 'awkward', chowk 'jawbone', chyngill 'gravel', dapill 'gray', dyrdom 'uproar', duds 'clothes', ramstam 'indiscreet, boisterous', ware 'to spend' and others cannot with any amount of certainty be set down even as Scand. loan-words. airt 'to urge' may be East Scand, as well, see above p. 209. The etymology of aweband is to be corrected according to E. D. D. The verb to brod 'to incite' is formed on English ground from the sb. brod 'a sharp point, a goad'. carpe may be East Scand., see above p. 215. dowless 'worthless', if a loan-word, has nothing peculiarly West Scand. about itself, as an O. Dan. *dugles would be quite as possible as an O. W. Scand. duglauss. fell 'mountain' is not W. Scand, more than E. Scand.; O. Dan. *fiall, *fiell (> Mod. Dan. fjeld, where ld has never been pronounced), O. Swed. fiall, fiæll would also have given M. E. fell, cf. above p. 170. melder 'flour, meal just ground' also occurs in Swedish, see Rietz p. 426. tarn 'a lake' is not distinctively Norse, cf. Swed. tjärn above p. 222. Concerning waith 'booty', see above p. 52. wick 'to cause to turn', if a loan-word, may quite as well be East Scand., cf. Swed. vika, Dan. vige (< *wīkæ). Concerning bolax 'hatchet', see above p. 205 (cf. p. 286, foot-note 3). clubbit 'clubfooted', if a loan-word, is not distinctively W. Scand. harn 'brain' may quite as well be E. Scand., cf. above p. 213. ill, will do not show assimilation of ld to ll; in will ll is from Teut. lp (Noreen, Altisl. Gr.2 § 215, above p. 169), in ill its origin is disputed; ld in Dan. ilde (< earlier ill) has never been pronounced and is to be explained according to Torp and Falk, Dansk-Norskens Lydhistorie p. 190, in Mod. Dan. vild it is chiefly due to German influence. ser, seir is not distinctively West Scand.; O. Dan., O. Swed. sær is due to the transition of $\bar{e} > \bar{e}$ which took place in East Scand. at a comparatively late time (Noreen, Paul's Grundr.2 I p. 589, Altschwed. Gr. § 114) and only consisted in an opener pronunciation of ē. The questions of the phonology of the loan-words which I have touched upon in these notes will be dealt with more in detail in the next part of this chapter. - M. E. skate 'skate' (the fish) I have erroneously given as distinctively W. Scand. (Dial. Prov. p. 10); see above p. 122.

p. 11 ff. and above p. 60 ff. This question is, however, rather irrelevant for the question of the dialectal provenience of the loan-words, as the eases are very scarce, the only words in which this sound-transition may be assumed with any amount of certainty to have taken place being M. E. kēling and lēzhe; bētas may be from Norman French (see above p. 61 foot-note 2), and ē in -lēc may be due to the weaker stress of the suffix.

Of the E. Scand. monophthongisation of θy , $ey > \bar{\theta}$ no reliable case is known, $d\bar{e}_{\bar{g}}en$ being rather uncertain; see Dial. Prov. p. 12 ff. Likewise it is not fully ascertained whether the $\bar{\rho}$ in some loan-words corresponding to W. Scand. words with ρu , au is due to the East Scand. monophthongisation of $\rho u > \bar{\theta}$ or whether this $\bar{\rho}$ was due to some sound-development carried out on English ground, see Dial. Prov. p. 21 f. and above p. 78 ff.; although the former alternative seems to me more probable, I do not attach enough importance to the same to draw from it any definite conclusions.\(^1\)

wr- in O. E., M. E. wrang 'wrong', M. E. wrā 'angle, corner' is also irrelevant, as it is not settled whether in West Scand. w- had been dropped in this position at the time of the introduction of the Scand. loan-words into English. See Dial. Prov. p. 22.

The following words, on the other hand, are of more importance for our question.

¹⁾ In this connexion I take the opportunity of offering a few further remarks concerning M. E. trust sb., trusten vb., N. E. to trust. I have above p. 78 left the question of its Scand. origin unsettled. Although it seems to me rather probable that it is really borrowed from Scand., I should like to point out still another possibility. In the Lex Salica there is a sb. trustis 'Schutz, Hilfe, königliche Gefolgschaft' and a derivative of the same, antrustio 'zur königlichen Gefolgschaft gehörender' (van Helten, P. B. B. XXV 498 f.), which Osthoff, Etymologische Parerga I p. 131, assumes to represent a different ablaut from that of O. W. Scand. traust, Germ. trost etc.; according to him it is uncertain whether it is an extension of Indogerm. drū- or drŭ- (Tent. trū-, trŭ-). M. E. trust may indeed represent a formation analogous to this trustis or may - at least in part - be due to the vowel of O. E. trūwian 'to trust', in which case we should have to assume an O. E. *trūst; cf. trāst in the dial. of Windhill (Wright p. 53, Dial. Prov. p. 19). But all this is most uncertain, as the word is not recorded in O. E.

M. E. axyl-toothe, N. E. dial. axle-tooth, assle-tooth 'a molar tooth', see above p. 200, Dial. Prov. p. 24.

O. E. $-b\bar{y}$, M. E. $b\bar{\imath}$, N. E. -by (in place-names), see above p. 202.1) Of 604 place-names in -by in England, according to Worsaae, Minder p. 102, more than a third (212) belongs to Linesh. In the tables given by Browne, Trans. Philol. Soc. 1880—1881 p. 86 ff., 144 place-names in -by out of 375 belong to Linesh. Concerning the ending -by Browne remarks p. 94: "It attains its greatest frequency in Linesh. and Leicestersh. (in the latter county there are 51 examples known). It does not seem to occur in some of the small isolated settlements round the coast, where other Norse names are found".

M. E. bone, ibone 'ready, prepared', see above p. 206, Dial. Prov. p. 24.

M. E. bōþe 'booth, stall', see above p. 206, Dial. Prov. p. 24; ef. M. E. botsate above p. 205.

M. E. bule 'a bull', see above p. 179 foot-note 1, 205, Dial. Prov. p. 24.

M. E. drūnen 'to drown', see above p. 176, Dial. Prov. p. 24.2)

M. E. gres 'grass', see above p. 30 foot-note, 211, Dial. Prov. p. 24 and foot-note.

M. E. \bar{a} melle, $\bar{\imath}$ melle 'in the middle, between', see above p. 171, Dial. Prov. p. 25.

M. E. sum(m) 'so as, soever', see above p. 221, Dial. Prov. p. 25.

M. E. trō 'to believe', see above p. 222.

M. E. wing, see above p. 225, Dial. Prov. p. 25.

M. E. *praue* 'bundle, number', see above p. 223, Dial. Prov. p. 25.

M. E. *būr*, see above p. 180, Dial. Prov. p. 25.3)

This word is not, as ought to have been pointed out before, from
 E. by pl. of bū n. 'a dwelling, a habitation' (Sweet, Stud. A.-S. Dict.).

2) Falk and Torp, Etymologisk Ordbog over det norske og det danske Sprog p. 114 give a Norw. *drongne* in which vn is from nkn, but this transition may have taken place in comparatively late times.

³) M. E. bulaxe has erroneously been looked upon as distinctly East Scand. by Brate p. 87, Kluge, Paul's Grundr.² I p. 938 and by myself Dial. Prov. p. 24. The word which constitutes the first member appears both in West and East Scand. with u and o, and axe is no doubt from O. E. ax etc. 'axe'. Cf. above p. 205.

b) Other cases.

M. E. balled 'bald', see above p. 229, Dial. Prov. p. 26.
M. E. flakken 'palpilate', see above p. 238, Dial. Prov. p. 26,
M. E. harsk 'harsh', see above p. 138.

These three are very uncertain.

In trying to draw any conclusions from the above material as to the nationalities of the Scand. settlers, it would be advisable to start from the most reliable part of the same only. As such I consider the W. Scand. loan-words M. E. būn, busken, greiðen and the E. Scand. loan-words bōne, ibōne 'ready, prepared', bōpe, sum(m), trō.

M. E. būn occurs for the first time in the Orrmulum and is, besides, to be found in C. M., Ch., P. Pl., Iw. and Gaw., D. Troy, Harding's Chron.; the M. E. vb. būnen occurs in Jos. 414, C. M., A. P., D. Troy, Barb., M. Arth., York Plays. In Mod. E. dialects boun adj. is quoted by E. D. D. from Sc., Irel., Nhb., Dur., Cumb., Wm., Yksh., Lancsh., Chs., Der., north Lincsh. Most of the quotations in E. D. D. are from Yksh.; the vb. to boun occurs in Sc., Nhb., Cumb., Yksh., Lancsh., Der.

M. E. busken occurs in C. M., Gaw., A. P., Alex. and Dind., Alex. (Sk.), P. L. S. XXX 20, Jos., Flor., P. S. 239, Egl. 348, D. Troy, York Pl., Will. Palerne, Langl. P. Pl., Trist., Degr., Barb. Bruce, Gaw. and Gol., Lybeaus Disc., Lydg. It is given by E. D. D. from the following dialects: Sc., Irel., North., Cum., Wm., Yksh., Lancsh., Chsh., Lin., e. Anglia; most of the quotations are northern, esp. Scotch.

M. E. greiðen vb., greið adj., greiðe sb. are recorded in all dialects of M. E., e. g. Orrm., Gen. and Ex., Laz., A. R., St. Jul., R. Gl., H. M., Ayenb., C. M., A. P., Hav., Langl. P. Pl., Hamp., Wiel., D. Troy, Alex. (Sk.) etc.; their occurrence is not especially East Midl., but seems to have been most frequent in the North. In Mod. E. dialects the words are chiefly Northern and Western; they occur in Sc., Irel., Nhb., Dur., Cum., Wm., Yksh., Lancsh., Chsh., Der., Pem. It is most noteworthy that these words, which are so frequent in Engl. dialects, are not given from counties like Lincsh. or Norfolk.

M. E. bone, ibone occurs Laz., Siriz, Rob. Mann. of Brunne, Gest. Rom. I, XII, 33, N. E. dial. boon 'to mend a highway' occurs in Der. and Linesh.

M. E. bōþe occurs Orrm., Trin. Coll. Hom. 185, A. P., Alis., Ayenb., Gow., Pr. P., Poem on the times of Edw. II; it is quoted by E. D. D. from Sc., Nhb., Yksh., Lancsh., Lincsh., Gloucestersh. sum(m) occurs Orrm., Laz., C. M., Iw., Amad., Shoreh., Egl. trō is only recorded in Hav.

As I have pointed out Dial. Prov. p. 10, 26, so much seems to follow from the loan-word material in question, that the West Scand. loan-words are not so frequent in East Midl. as in other parts of the country, esp. in the Northern and Western counties, a fact which agrees very well with the historical facts pointed out above p. 280 f. As for the East Scand. loanwords, the material does not allow of any conclusions as to the districts where the E. Scand. settlements were predominant. This may of course be accidental, as the material is very scarce, but could also render probable the presence of considerable numbers of Danes in all parts of the Scandinavian colonies. 1)

3.

Phonology of the Loan-words.

The development of the sounds of the Scand. loan-words does not, as a rule, offer any differences from the development of the sounds of native words. The representation of the Scandinavian sounds in English is therefore very easily ascertained. In the following account of this matter, I start from the presumable prehistoric Scandinavian sound-system of the times when the loan-words were introduced into English, as it would not be advisable to start from any of the Scand. dialects.²)

Vowels.

§ 1. Scand. ă has, as a rule, given early M. E. a, which develops like native M. E. a, e. g.: aghe (199), azune (110), anger (200), basken (136), bland (204), fahnian (111), farand (209, gadd

¹⁾ The question of the evidence of the place-names, which has been dealt with by several scholars, cannot be here entered upon, but must be made the subject of a special work.

²⁾ The words given above p. 226 ff. are only dealt with incidentally.

(168), gazhenn (112), galte (211), gapen (150), garn (150), garth (150), gate (151), glam (211), hazherr etc. (112, 212), hank (211), hap (212), harsk (138), haver (213), calf (214), callen (214), carl (215), carpen (215), casten (142, 215), cnearr (see above p. 215), lape (216), ransaken (172), same (218), sannen (172), scant (122), skate (122), scathe (123), scragen (130), scrapen (131), skratt (131), on slante (219), spac (220), stac (220), stangen (220), swale (231), swange, swonge (221), taken (221), þarrnenn (223), þraue (223), wand, wánd, wónd (224), wande (225), want (225), wrang, wráng, wróng (225).1)

Urnord. ă is often liable to Scand. i-mutation; the result is ę (O. W. Scand. e, O. Swed., O. Dan. æ) > early M. E. ĕ, which develops like native M. E. e (Teut. e or i-mutation of Teut. ă). As the development of this M. E. ĕ (< Scand. e < Urnord. a) is fully identical with M. E. ĕ from Scand. e (Urnord. e), the examples are here given together: dreng (208), eg (36), elten (208), ender (208), eng (209), erten (209), efne (209), felen (209), gedde (169), gersume (152), gest (152), geten (153), gres (211), hellen (170), heming (213), hepen (163, 213), hevenen (213), ketel (142), cleg (215), leg (216), mennisk (139), neve (217), skelly (124), skelle (124), skemmtinng, skenten (124), skeppe (124), skerre sb. (124), telwen (222), perne (223), preve (223), pweorrt, pwert (224), werre (225).

Urnord. a is also often liable to u- (w-)mutation; see Noreen, Altisl. Gr. § 71 f., Altschwed. Gr. § 65, 69. The result is o. This u- (w-)mutation is oftener to be found in W. Scand. than in E. Scand. In the loan-words the regular representation of Scand. o is a²: addlenn (199), axeltre (199), askefise (135 f., 201), Atsor (25, Dial. Prov. p. 8), bark (230), dag (33), galte (211), hag (34), hank (212), cnearr (215), rag (251), swarthe (166), wand etc. (224). Only in one word there is a fairly doubtless trace of the Scand. u-mutation of a, namely in O. E. hold

Concerning saht which possibly rests on a Scand. base with ă, see p. 100.

²⁾ It is of course generally impossible to decide whether this a rests on Scand. a or ρ , as in the East Scand. sources which have come down to us Urnord. a is frequently unchanged, while in O. W. Scand. ρ is the regular sound. Some words are therefore given both under a and ρ .

'freeholder', see Dial. Prov. p. 7 and foot-note 3; most probably also in O. E. hofdinge (or hofding) Chr. 1076.1)

As for the treatment of Scand. a before nasal consonants in the loan-words, it is probable, although the scantiness of the material renders it impossible to prove anything to this effect,²) that a did not regularly change (owing to any sound-law) into o in the dialects in which Teut. a had become o before nasals in native words;³) occasionally we find o in Scand. loanwords in such dialects,⁴) but this may be due to a sort of analogy or sound-substitution, a + nasal being in these dialects,

¹⁾ hold is hardly from Scand. hauld-, cf. above p. 77. Noreen, Altschwed. Gr. § 65, 1 (cf. § 59, 7, 60, 61 and above p. 77 foot-note 2) explains o in O. Swed. hofpinge as due to u-mutation of a. Concerning M. E. rugged, see above p. 35, foot-note 2.

²) M. E. δ + nasal (< a + nasal) only occurred in dialects in which the Scand. element was very rare.

s) The sound-transition in question is likely in most dialects to have taken place before the introduction of the Scand. loan-words into English.

⁴⁾ Thus in the Katherine-group we find wondrepe (3 times), bond (once), wontin (once). Stodte p. 11. It is perhaps not a mere chance that one of the very scarce exceptions to the rule of a > becoming o before nasal consonants in the Kath.-gr. is just the Scand. word wandrede (once); the others are man (5 times) and cang Kath. 258, of which the latter is etymologically obscure and may possibly be a loan-word (perhaps connected with the A. Fr. loan-word cangun; the spelling chang in A. R. renders its connexion with Swed. kång, above p. 243, foot-note doubtful). In A. R. we find wondrede (several times), wonten (several times), wrong, of which the last may be due to vowel-lengthening before ng (\left\(wrang \)), but angresful (twice). Other exceptions to the rule of a > 0 are scarce, Wülcker, Beiträge I p. 211; among these we find cang, chang 'foolish' (15 times). H. M. has wonti 'to want', wont pres. The only words with a are and 'and', famplen, fram 'from', framien 'to be profitable', framed pres.; of these and and fram are due to weak stress, and famplen may be a Scand, loan-word (see above p. 236), o in wonten may be due to the sb. wone 'decrease, lack' < 0. E. wana. In the "Altengl. Dichtungen aus d. Hs. Harl. 2253" (edited by Böddeker), a has as a rule become o before nasals; only in open syllables before a single nasal we find both o and a. In these poems we meet with the form bond, but a is to be found in the loan-word sannen; other exceptions are fand (pret.), which may be explained according to Morsbach, Me. Gr. § 90 a. 4, an (prep.), an- (prefix), man, hangen. M. E. banke (possibly from Scand. p. 230) is several times found written with o. The frequent word anger, which is an undisputed Scand, word, has never been found spelt with o.

at the time of the importation of the loan-words, an unknown sound-combination in native words.

Scand. a has been lengthened on English ground before certain consonant groups (cf. above p. 118): oonde 'breath', bond, (band Orrm.), swonge, wond (wand Orrm.), wrong (wrang Orrm.). M. E. affell occurs, curiously enough, in the Orrmulum at the end of the septenar, see above p. 201, foot-note 2.

Of course a in the loan-words took part in the M. E. vowellengthening before single consonants followed by a vowel: gâpen, gâte, lâthe, sâme, skâte, scâthe, scrâpen, tâken, prâve.

Scand. $\check{a} > \check{e}$ before st in M. E. kesten, see Morsbach, Me. Gr. § 87, Anm. 2. e in lest (= last above p. 249) is doubtful as there is a Danish last, lest with i-mutation (Kalkar II p. 757).

In close syllables Scand. a has remained as O. E., M. E. a and thus in a few words seems to provide us with a loanword test, see above p. 109 f. It seems, however, possible that Scand. a might in O. E. occasionally have become æ through some process similar to the cases pointed out above p. 10 f., which Luick, L. Cbl. 1901 p. 979 describes as "Übersetzung in das Lautsystem der aufnehmenden Sprache". But as O. E. æ has in the M. E. dialects in which most Scand. loan-words are to be found, become ă, there is no evidence of O. E. æ < Scand. ā.1)

§ 2. Scand. ĕ (> O. W. Scand. ĕ, O. Swed., O. Dan. œ) has in all respects been treated like O. E. e. Like O. E., M. E. e, it rests chiefly on two different bases: it is either the continuation of Teut. ë or is due to i-mutation of Teut., Urnord. a. Examples are given above under Scand. a.

No reliable case of Scand. e having been lengthened

¹⁾ Possibly O. E. hæfene 'harbour, port' Chr. 1031, 1090 (>M. E. havene, see above p. 242) is an example of such an analogical sound-transition. It is not absolutely settled whether in such southern texts as have e (ea) for O. E. æ, forms like kesten, keasten could not be due to a similar O. E. process; Stodte p. 10 may, however, be right in ascribing keasten, leasteles in the Katherine-group to the following st, as M. E. kesten in many other texts cannot be explained otherwise (as for M. E. lest see above), and as also kasten, lasten occur in the Katherine-group (Stodte, p. 9). The material of native words in O. E. -æst- to be found in these texts is not sufficient for the settlement of the problem.

before consonant-groups are known to me; génge, géngenn, stréngenn in the Orrmulum (Morsbach, Me. Gr. p. 70) are possibly native words. 1)

Examples of Scand. e lengthened in M. E. before a single consonant followed by a vowel are N. E. dial. feal (209), N. E. dial. neaf, neave (210).

Scand. e has become M. E. i owing to regular M. E. sound-development (Morsbach, Me. Gr. § 109) in dring (< dreng) Laz., C. M., heredring C. M., M. E. hildire 'rather' (above p. 167), M. E. stithe (above p. 165), M. E. quiðen (< hweðen) 'whence' C. M. 24290, M. E. gris(s) (< gres 'grass') Hamp. Ps., C. M., Gött. MS., girs Barb., M. E. linke (146).

Urnord. e was under certain cirmcumstances "broken" into ia, io (iu), see Noreen, Altisl. Gr.² § 88 ff., Altschwed. Gr. § 75 ff. In East Scand. these diphthongs, as a rule, were liable to the so-called "progressive i-mutation", through which ia became ia and io became io, see Noreen, Altschwed. Gr. § 96 ff. The Scandinavian loan-words offer no evidence as to the question whether this "breaking" had taken place at the times of their

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¹⁾ Remarkable is the form bierne Ayenb. 129 (O. W. Scand. berna, O. Swed. pærna, above p. 223), which seems to rest on an earlier *pēorne; cf. ierbe (Ayenb.) < 0. E. eorb 'earth' with lengthening of eo before rd. It the word is borrowed from Scand, we have probably to explain the ie as resting on an earlier eo < e through an "analogical" breaking before ro (cf. p. 10 ff. and Scand. a > M. E. o before nasal conss., above p. 290); thus M. E. bweorrt in the Orrm., in which eo is simply due to an antiquated orthography, may very well have been pronounced with eo in earlier times. Such an analogical eo (Scand. e) was probably subsequently lengthened before ro. But if the word was native, we have to start from an O. E. *peorne with eo resting on West Teut. eu like O. H. G. diorna, O. Sax. thiorna. It is to be noted, however, that the form of O. W. Scand. perna etc. is difficult to explain according to Scand. sound-laws, Noreen, Altisl. Gr.2 § 244, Anm. 1. As Professor Noreen kindly points out to me, O. W. Scand. perna etc., therefore, are probably borrowed from L. German. If this be the case, we have to look upon M. E. bierne, berne as a native word from an O. E. *beorne.

²⁾ Cf. the rime gres: is Hav. 2698 f.; Holthausen alters is in es. Concerning M. E. brist, bristen, see above p. 183. i in N. E. akimbo is probably from Scand. e, see above p. 245. In English dialects there are some words containing an i which seems to be from a Scand. e, but as this i may, in some cases, be due to dialectal sound-developments in Mod. E. times, they cannot be dealt with in this connexion.

importation; still it is probable that this was really the case, if we consider the chronology given by Noreen, Altisl. Gr.² § 94, Altschwed. Gr. § 79.¹) The diphthongs ia, io were treated fully in the same way as Scand. e: M. E. hernes, harnes 'brains' (213), M. E. ker 'marshy ground' (142), M. E. ket 'flesh' (142, 215), skel 'reason, discretion' (129), M. E. sker(re) 'timid' (124), M. E. steorrne, sterrne, sterne 'star' (220),²) M. E. terne, N. E. tarn 'lake' (222); less reliable examples are: M. E. derrf etc. (233), eorl (236), efning (236), fell (170), firth (237),³) fishen (137), gerth (152), kele (142).⁴)

§ 3. Scand. ** was rendered by M. E. **: binge (204), clint (215), crike (216), dingen (207), gigge (153) gile (153, 191), gill (153, 191), gilde (154), gilder (154), grið (163), hitten (213), ille (171), iþen (214), kide (143), kilp (143), liten (178), lið (216), minne (171), rip (218), skifft (126), skill (126), skin (127, 172), skirrpenn (128), skitte (128), skrinken (131), thiggen (223), þrift (223), til (222), twinn (172), will (170). i in ille may be due to Scand. shortening of *\bar{\ell}\]. i in M. E. given may be due to the i of East Scand. giva, but may, especially in the south, in part be due to native sound-development, cf. above p. 154 ff., Bülbring, Anglia Beibl. XI p. 101. i in the form *\bar{\ell}\] iuen (Bülbring, Ablaut d. st. Zeitw. p. 66, Anglia, Beibl. l. c.) is probably not due to any Scand. influence.

Difficult to explain is e (instead of i) in bengere, bengge

¹⁾ On a coin struck at Lincoln during the reign of Edward the Confessor we find the name Jelmer (probably = Hialmarr), see Worsaae, Minder om de Danske og Nordmændene p. 158.

as is proved by pweorrt in the same text.

³) *i* in this word is probably, if the word is from Scand., from the *i* of certain cases of the Scand. paradigm (Noreen, Altisl. Gr.² § 329).

⁴⁾ In the Ortus Vocabulorum we meet with a yokle 'stiria est gutta frigore concreta pendens guttatimque stillans'; cf. Pr. P. 529, foot-note 1, and N. E. D. s. v. ickle, icicle, where some other quotations are given (e. g. iseyokels P. Pl.). It seems tempting to explain yo- from Scand. jokull <*ekulaπ (in which an initial ½ according to early Scand. sound-development had been lost), but there are several continental forms with jo- (e. g. M. L. G. jokel) which render such an explanation doubtful. The treatment of these forms by Gallée, ZfdPh. XXX p. 183 is erroneous; he overlooks the real difficulty of problem.</p>

(204); perhaps it is to be judged according to Morsbach, Me. Gr. § 114.

§ 4. Scand. $\delta > M$. E. δ : blotnen (205), bol (205), bolnen (205), brodd (168), frope, froth (210), gol (212), golf (211), morknen (217), odde (169), olm (217), orreste (218), roten (218), scorrcnenn (129), scot (130), slokenen (220), toft (113).

0 + z : loze, lowe (216).

It is lengthened in an open syllable: scôren (129), bôle (179, foot-note).

The original quantity of o in M. E. oker (179) is uncertain. Concerning ornen, see p. 218.

ŏ in occ is due to Scand. sound-development, cf. p. 72, foot-note 1 and the references given there; the same is probably the case with ŏ bohh p. 72 ff., toft 113.

§ 5. Scand. $\ddot{u} > M$. E. \ddot{u} : e. g. bule (205), gul (212), luggen (217), scrubben (132), scug (35), sculken (133), sculle (133), summ (221).

Seand. $\ddot{u} + \ddot{z}$: drūnen (176).

ŭ is lengthened before nd in M. E. lúnd (217), perhaps also before rn in ournen (218).

Not quite settled is the origin of u in rugged (35, footnote 2, 218).

§ 6. Scand. ÿ: 1. i-mutation of ŭ (Noreen, Altisl. Gr.² § 63, 5, Altschwed. Gr. § 59, 5): bür, bir (204), dillen (207), fylcian (210), flütten, flitten (210), gilte (210), gymbyr (211), midding (217), niitten, nitten (217), skinden (127), skippen (127), stünten, stinten, stenten (221).

2. u- (w-) mutation of i (Noreen, Altisl. Gr.² § 71, 7, 72, 5, Altschwed. Gr. § 65, 4, 69, 4): biggen (32), 1) big (32), 2) ling (216), mirke (146), nig (34), sister (117), trig (35).

The loan-words of the latter class do not give any evidence as to the question whether the w-mutation had taken place at the dates of the borrowings, as no forms with the pronunciation [ii] are found.

1) Cf. Falk and Torp, Etym. Ordb. p. 88.

²⁾ O. Swed. biug, early Dan, biug, Swed. niugg are due to the East Scand. change of y > iu before ggw, and Swed. ljung is from *lyngw-.

The scantiness of the material does not allow of any conclusions as to the treatment of Scand. y in Kentish.

M. E. $i \ll j$ is due to Scand. shortening in immess (214) and to English shortening in skim (127).

- § 7. Scand. $\check{\sigma}$. No reliable case is known. M. E. gleg (34) may be from a Scand. form with e(x), cf. O. Swed. glægger, N. Swed. dial. glägg (Rietz). $\check{\sigma}$ in O. W. Scand. glæggr, O. Swed. glægger is due to w-mutation of e(x), Noreen, Altisl. Gr. § 72, 7; of course the M. E. form, even if from glæggr, does not prove anything as to the question of the date of the w-mutation.
- § 8. Scand. \bar{a} has given M. E. \bar{a} , $\bar{\rho}$ and was treated like O. E. \bar{a} . The material is to be found above p. 81—109.1) \bar{a} has been shortened in *span-newe* (83), *laten* (91), perhaps in *haht* (99).

Scand. \bar{a} was sometimes liable to u-, w-mutation. The only trace of this in M. E. is $c\bar{o}me$ from u-mutated (oblique) forms of Scand. $kv\bar{a}ma$, see p. 11, foot-note 2.2)

§ 9. Scand. \bar{e} was a very rare sound in Scand. 3) Concerning its sources, see Noreen, Altisl. Gr. 2 § 154. In East Scand. it became early \bar{e} , Noreen, Altschwed. Gr. § 114, Paul's Grundr. 2 I p. 589. The only word belonging to this heading is M. E. $s\bar{e}r$ (167). \bar{e} in $s\bar{e}r$ was undoubtedly close. 4)

¹⁾ Since Part I appeared, the question of the development of W. Teut. \bar{a} in English has been more precisely dealt with by Bülbring, Altengl. Elementarb. § 129. My treatment of the question of M. E. \bar{a} as a loan-word criterion may therefore be corrected in some particulars according to the rules given by Bülbring.

²⁾ Fritzner II, p. 324 gives an O. W. Scand. koma or kvama 'arrival'. It is evident that this is incorrect and that the forms were pronounced koma and kvama.

³⁾ At the time of the borrowings ē seems, in one respect, to have been rarer still than in literary Scandinavian. The change of ĭ, ī > ē before h (Noreen, Altisl. Gr. § 56, Altschwed. Gr. § 83, 2, 3) seems not yet to have taken place. The word which could favour such a conclusion is, however, not necessarily a loan-word. This word is M. E. būht (above p. 223) which appears in O. W. Scand. as bēttr, in O. Swed. as bætter.

⁴⁾ O. E. feolaga, M. E. felage, although surely from Scand. (see above p. 209), is irrelevant, as the first syllable may have been influenced by the native word feoh, feo.

§ 10. Scand. $\bar{\imath} > M$. E. $\bar{\imath}$: e. g. grim (211), gris (211), niðing (164), niten (217), slīke (147), swiðen (166, 221), tiðende (166), tit (222), thiht (223), þrifenn (224).

 $\bar{\imath} + \bar{\varsigma} : cw\bar{\imath}e$ (216).

§ 11. Scand. $\bar{o} > M$. E. $\bar{\rho}$: e. g. blome (204), bon (205), bonda (205), bohe (162, 206), botsate (205), hof (214), love (217), $\bar{o}\bar{p}$ (165), ros (218), sloh (165), stor (221), tro (222). M. E. $\bar{\rho}$ of Scand. origin became \bar{u} (or some sound reminding of \bar{u}) in the north, to the same extent as native $\bar{\rho}$; cf. the rimes given by Gerken, p. 48.

 $\bar{o} + \bar{s} : scogh$ (128).

ō has been shortened in bohh (73), toft (113), ef. § 4.

§ 12. Seand. $\bar{u} > M$. E. \bar{u} : e. g. $b\bar{u}$ (206), $b\bar{u}n$ (206), $dr\bar{u}pen$ (208), asloute (220), sc \bar{u} len (133), sk \bar{u} ten (134), $p\bar{u}r$ (180), usel (224).

ū + z : N. E. cow (216).

 \bar{u} has been shortened in busken (137), pursdai (180), scum (133).

§ 13. Scand. $\bar{y} > M$. E. (\bar{u}) , $\bar{\imath}$. 1. i-mutation of \bar{u} : site

(175), by (202), brin (206), file (210), pristen (224).

2. i-mutation of iu: līre (115), līden (115), līte 'flaw, vice', ') mīre 'mire' (115), mīre 'ant' (115), skīe (115), tīnen (116), perhaps in skītly (skĭtly?; 115, 126).2)

Concerning bike see p. 203.

 \overline{y} has been shortened in immess (214). Concerning skim, see p. 127.

§ 14. Scand. \bar{e} (i-mutation of \bar{a}) > M. E. \bar{e} : brēth (89), f \bar{e} zen (237), g \bar{e} te etc. (174), h \bar{e} peliz, h \bar{e} penn etc. (163), l \bar{e} te

1) This word occurs L. H. R. 112, Townel. 71, Iw. 1620; cf. O. W. Scand. lyti, Swed. lyte 'vice, physical or bodily defect', connected with the adj. ljótr 'ugly'. This word ought to have been given above p. 115.

²⁾ This form has been found only once (Alex. Sk. l. 5040). Even if it is not an error for sketly, it is most doubtful whether it belongs to this heading, as y in E. Scand. skyt neut. and adv. is probably to be accounted for otherwise (see Noreen, Altschwed. Gr. § 90, 4, 100). If the M. E. form is not an error for sketly, it may have arisen on English ground from such a ground-form. The development must, in this case, have been sketly > sketly > skitly (Morsbach, § 109). — O. Swed. skyter, given above p. 115, 126, has not existed and ought to be altered into skyt neut. and adv.

(216), skēre 'clean, pure' (125), scrēmen (131). \bar{e} in wēng (instead of \bar{w}) in the Orrm. (225) may be due to the following sound. \bar{w} has been shortened in ăttlen, ěttlen (173), răd, rěd (218), frall (19 and foot-note 2, 170). ěttlen, rěd may in part be due to later shortening than ăttlen, răd, or to Scand. \bar{w} having become \bar{e} before t and d as in similar English words (cf. Bülbring, Altengl. Elementarb. § 167, Anm.). \bar{a} in haht (99) is perhaps from \bar{w} . Concerning frell, frill, see p. 19, foot-note 2.

§ 15. Scand. $\bar{\sigma} > M$. E. \bar{e} : $\bar{e}penn$ (178), $sl\bar{e}\bar{s}$ (219); $s\bar{e}men$ 'to befit, suit', p. 8 foot-note 1, is, in a certain way, the native O. E. $s\bar{e}man$, which has adopted the sense of Scand. $s\bar{\sigma}ma$. $\bar{\sigma} > \bar{e}$ has been shortened in M. E. $sl\bar{e}h\bar{p}$ (219).

Diphthongs.

§ 16. Scand. ia, io, see above under Scand. e (§ 2).

§ 17. Scand. æi (ei), øy (ey) have been treated above p. 36—67, 284 f. Their general result was M. E. ei, ai. A few additions may here be made.

ai + st > āst: frasten (42), trasten (65); also gnasten (55) may be due to the same law, Luick, Arch. CVII p. 325. N. E. baste 'to beat' (67) does not prove the sound-change in question, as it may — as far as the form goes — quite as well be from a late M. E. *baisten, but it is, no doubt, to judge from the analogies of frasten, trasten, from a late M. E. form without the last element of the diphthong and consequently shows that a in frasten, trasten, *basten was long. Cf. Luick l. c.

Also M. E. bask (40) and perhaps M. E. gaspen (53) have lost the last element of the diphthong, cf. Luick l. c. p. 329.

N. E. mease (58), queasy (58) are doubtful from a phonetic point of view, cf. Luick 1. c. Luick suspects mease to have been introduced through Norman French. I must leave the question open, although in my opinion such a supposition must be used only as a last resource. The word has not been found in Norman French. 1)

¹⁾ It is even possible that the word has been introduced from Scand. in later times. Herring was in the 13th and 14th centuries exported in very great quantities from Scandinavia to England; it was sold in wicker-

M. E. ai + k > late M. E. $\bar{e}k$. This has been made clear by Luick, Arch. CVIII p. 327 ff., and I think his explanations of the forms in question preferable to the special explanations of the different forms given before by others. Nevertheless some of the words would possibly have had M. E. \bar{e} even if the sound-change in question had not taken place, e. g. N. E. bleak through the influence of M. E. blechen. The cases to be taken into consideration as representing a M. E. $\bar{e} < ai$ are:

M. E. bleike, blaike adj., bleiken vb. (41) > N. E. bleak.

M. E. *faik- (cf. O. W. Scand. foykja 'blow, drive away, rush') > N. E. feake 'twitch, jerk, pull smartly'; cf. feak 'trick deception' (Windhill)? See Luick l. c.

N. E. dial. keak 'to throw back the neck disdainfully', is no doubt from M. E. *kaiken, see E. D. D. III p. 402. Cf. kaik, kayk Wm., Cum.

M. E. leik, laik 'sport, play' (46), leiken, laiken 'to jest, play' (47) > N. E. dial. leak. But also N. E. dial. lake, laik is to be found; thus in southern Lowland Scotch the word shows the vowel which is the regular representation of M. E. ai (Flom p. 18).1)

M. E. *stayke > stēke, see p. 59, 63; concerning N. E. steak, see Luick, Unters. § 323.

M. E. weik, waik (52) > N. E. weak.2)

baskets and therefore called meisasild. See A. Bugge, Handelen mell. Norge og England, (Norsk) Hist. Tidsskr. 1898 p. 130 ff., Studier over de Norske Byers Selvstyre og Handel, Kristiania 1899 p. 159 f. It would consequently belong to the same class of loan-words as dūn above p. 235, elk Björkman, E. St. XXX p. 377 f.

1) The change of $aik > \bar{e}k$ did not take place in all E. dialects. Thus the dialect treated of by Flom has blake 'yellow, pale'. Windhill has lesk, stesk, wesk < laik etc. (Wright p. 36, 46); N. E. dial. rake 'to wander' (48) is perhaps also from a base containing ai (M. E. raiken).

2) The following additions to the material given above p. 36 ff. may

be given in this connexion:

M. E. deilen in to-deilen 'to participate' Hav. 2099 (rime-word

wesseylen), deiled p. pple. Hav. 1736 (rime-word wesseyled).

N. E. dial. gair 'a triangular piece of land in a corner of a field, which cannot be ploughed with the rest': 0. W. Scand. geiri 'a slip, strip', Norw. dial. geire, Swed. dial. gere.

N. E. dial. graip sb. 'a three- or fourpronged fork': O. W. Scand.

greip, Swed. grep, Dan. greb. See E. D. D.

Scand. ei, ei may have occasionally been rendered by O. E. \bar{a} and ey, ey by O. E. ie, e, cf. p. 10 f.

§ 18. Scand. ou, au. The treatment of this diphthong has been dealt with above p. 68-81, 285.

In Arch. CVII p. 322 ff., Luick has applied the phonetic law which he had laid down in Anglia XVI p. 468 ("sobald ein Diphthong auf -u vor Labial zu stehen kommt, wird das u absorbiert und die erste Komponente gelängt") also to the Seand. loan-words containing Seand. au, ou. The material to which this rule is applicable is, however, very searce, and the sound-change in question has not taken place in all dialects.

Luick considers *lope* sb. Gow. I 310 (rime-word $h\tilde{o}pe$) to represent the change of $oup > \bar{o}p$. This is, however, not absolutely necessary; as I have pointed out above p. 71, footnote, o in *lope* may be from \check{o} , representing another ablant.

Early N. E. goping, N. E. dial. goppen is according to Luick from a M. E. base ρ . This cannot be proved either; also a M. E. base $g\bar{\rho}pen$ would, if ρ was early shortened before pn, have given N. E. goppen.

Also M. E., N. E. cope is somewhat doubtful, see Luick l. c. N. E. forms in $[\bar{o}^u]$ are ambiguous as M. E. ou and \bar{o} have both given this N. E. sound. Also in many dialects M. E. ou and \bar{o} have resulted in one sound. N. E. dialect forms like gome (70), soam (72), oamly (80) may contain M. E. $\bar{o} < ou$, but cannot be judged without a fair knowledge of the phonology of the dialects in which they occur.

M. E. au has possibly, according to the same rule, become \bar{a} in N. E. dial. gapen, Luick p. 324. It is remarkable that no other case of au before lip-consonant having become \bar{a} has been found, but this may be due to the circumstance that in M. E. au was much rarer than ou, cf. Luick l. c. !)

¹⁾ The following additions may be made in this connexion to the material given p. 68-81:

N. E. dial. bloaty, blauthy 'bloated, puffy, swollen', Linesh., E. Anglia, cf. M. E. bloute 'soft' p. 69. blauthy may be connected with O. W. Scand. blaut, O. Swed. blother which probably meant originally the same as blautr (Tamm, Et. Sv. Ordb. p. 47).

N. E. dial. dowf 'dull, stupid': O. W. Scand. daufr, Dan. dev, Swed. döf, see E. D. D., Skeat, Notes on E. Et. p. 79.

Scand. ou may have occasionally been superseded by O. E. ēa; see p. 11.

§ 19. Scand. $i\bar{u}$, $i\bar{o}$ (< Teut. eu, iu) has become O. E. \bar{eo} , M. E. \bar{e} . It is not made out through this, whether at the time of borrowing the stress was laid on the first or last element of the Scand. diphthongs, as O. E. \bar{eo} may be due to sound-substitution. The words in question are: M. E. les(s)ke (138), M. E. $m\bar{e}oc$, $m\bar{e}k$ (217), O. E. $sc\bar{e}ot$, M. E. $sk\bar{e}t(e)$ (125 ff.), M. E. tepren (166); cf. also N. E. dial. leister 'a pronged and barbed fishspear, especially used for striking salmon by torchlight' (O. W. Scand. $lj\acute{o}str$, Swed. ljuster), N. E. dial. skeel 'a milking pail', Wall p. 119 (O. W. Scand. $skj\acute{o}la$, Swed. dial. skjula 'a pail'). English shortening of \bar{e} (< Scand. $i\bar{u}$, $i\bar{o}$) has taken place in lesske, tepren, above. Initial $i\bar{o}$ has possibly become M. E. $s\bar{o}l$ in M. E. $s\bar{o}l$ p. 242 and foot-note.

Consonants.

- § 20. Scand. b > M. E. b: e. g. big, biggenn (32), bein, bezzenn, bleiken (40 f.), brāb (88).
- § 21. Scand. d, dd > M. E. d, dd: e. g. bred, brod, gad, od (168 f.), deye (206), dreng (208). Scand. dd is from an earlier group $\vartheta(i)\vartheta$ in radd, red (p. 218), and from Teutonie $z\vartheta$ in the words treated p. 168 f. Scand. kd has become dd in midding p. 217.
- § 22. Scand. g, gg > M. E. g, gg: e. g. big, biggen, gleg etc. (33 ff.), garn, garth etc. (150 ff.). The possibility of g- having

N. E. dial. doup 'the end of an egg, etc.' (E. D. D.): O. W. Scand., Norw. dial. daup 'a rounded cavity or hollow bottom'.

N. E. dial. fout 'a fool, simpleton' (E. D. E.): O. W. Scand. fauti 'fatuus homo' (Haldorsen).

N. E. dial. gowze sb. 'a rush or gush of fluid', vb. '(of a fluid :) to burst out suddenly': Norw. dial. gaus 'a rush of fluid', gausa 'to run, gush'.

M. E. maure 'ant, pismire' (p. 77) occurs Troy Book I. 111; cf. Ker, Mod. Lang. Quarterly III, 3, p. 191.

N. E. dial. owned 'fated, destined' Cumb. (Prevost).

N. E. dial. rowk 'fog or mist' Cumb. (Prevost); cf. M. E. roke p. 77. M. E. stowres 'bars, stakes', A. Bugge, Norske Byers Selvstyre p. 163; see later on.

- in loan-words become O. E. z-, M. E. y- before palatal vowels, owing to the analogy of native words (cf. the principles laid down p. 10 f.) is not excluded, but no such cases have been found.
- § 23. Scand. p > M. E. p: e. g. snaipen (65), goupin (70), coupen (70), loupen (70), rip (218), spac (220). pn > kn: scorrenenn (129 f.), drūknen (176 foot-note). Cf. N. E. dial. glocken 'to start from fright', gowken 'a handful'.
- § 24. Scand. t > M. E. t: e. g. trigg (35), bezztenn (41), fraisten (42), lezztenn (47), teit (50), tr \bar{p} (222).
- § 25. Seand. k > M. E. k: e. g. cweise, lezzk (46), weik (52), cairen (64), casten etc. (143 ff.). In some loan-words k, initial, medial, final, may have been superseded by O. E. \tilde{c} , M. E. ch, owing to the analogy of native words, cf. above p. 10 f.; but it is not possible to prove anything to this effect in any separate case. kd > dd in midding p. 217; cf. § 21.
- § 26. Seand. f only occurred initially and before k, s, t (Noreen, Altisl. Gr.² § 270). It appears as M. E. f: e. g. fraisten (42), fr \bar{a} (100), fa (102), toft (113), fr \bar{i} en (117), skifft (126), farand (209), felen (209), file (210), fylcian (210), fliitten (210), frift (223); toft, skifft and frift are worthy of notice as probably proving that the Scand. sound-change of ft > ft (Noreen, Altisl. Gr.² § 182, 2, Altschwed. Gr. § 259, 2) had not yet taken place at the time of the importation of the loan-words; ff. above fg. 113, foot-note 2.
- § 27. Scand. p occurs only initially, before k and after k and p. It appears as M. E. p: e. g. prall, prell (19), pezz, pezz,
- § 28. Scand. s > M. E. s: e. g. scug (35), bezzsk (40), fraisten (42), heilsen (44), cweise (46), nais (48), rezzsenn (49), swein (49), swaiven (49), taisen (50), taisen (64), snaipen (65), traisten (65), traisten (65), traisten (67), traisten (67), traisten (68), traisten (68), traisten (69), traisten

sowre (72), spā (93), gest (152), 1) sīte (175), brixle (206), gres (211), grīs (211), slēh (219), slokenen (219), spac (220), star (220), summ (221), usell (224).

Scand. sk > M. E. sk, see above p. 169-139; in some cases sk may have been rendered by M. E. \tilde{s} , see p. 10, 119.

s in Scand. loan-words seems to have become voiced according to the same rules as native s: N. E. raise, Ne. dial. oozely (224); M. E. gerze 'grass' (Ayenb.) is not certain because probably from O. E. zærs.

§ 29. Scand. h occurred, in literary times, only initially. The phonetic value of the letter h was threefold in literary West Scand. (Noreen, Altisl. Gr.2 § 274-276), twofold in literary East Scand. (Noreen, Altschwed. Gr. § 364 f.). In M. E., initial h of Scand. origin occurs only before vowels and before w and was phonetically equivalent to M. E. h in the same positions: e. g. hag (34), heil (44), heilsen (44), haiben (45), hogh (70), har (90), haht (99), hazherr (212), hank (212), hap (212), haver (213), hitten (213); the only instances before w are wheym (45), hwepen (163),2) the loss of h before r, l, n (M. E. radd 218, rip 218, ros 218, loupen 70, labe 216, neve 217) may be accounted for by English sound-laws. It is not made out whether it had already been lost in Scand. before the introduction of all of the loan-words.3) In Old English we find some Scand. proper names with Hr-, but also some with R- ($\langle Hr$ -), see above p. 27. In Old Danish h- in hr-, hl-, hn- was dropped, according to Noreen Paul's Grundr.2 I p. 607, during the course of the Viking age, in Old Swedish between 1050—1250.4)

¹⁾ In such words as gest it is, of course, hardly possible to say how much is native and how much foreign; it is impossible to decide whether such words are, strictly speaking, loan-words or only native words influenced by Scandinavian.

²⁾ hw- has become qu- in queben (163).

³⁾ Cf. Brate p. 75: Ob dieser Wegfall schon vor der Aufnahme der Lehnwörter geschehen war, oder ob h erst durch den Schwund von vorkonsonantischem h in englischen Wörtern verloren gegangen ist, kann kaum entschieden werden?

^{&#}x27;) In the Orrmulum we find radd (< Scand. hræddr), rös (< Scand. hrös) but rhöf 'roof', but this does not prove any different treatment of

Medial and final h was early dropped in Scandinavian, Noreen, Paul's Grundr.² I p. 577. Scand. medial h has been lost in O. E. $h\bar{a}$, M. E. $sp\bar{a}$, M. E. $wr\bar{a}$, see above p. 181, $pr\bar{w}l$ p. 180, pwerrt, pweorrt see p. 224, Brate p. 75, possibly in $m\bar{a}l$, p. 103, $pr\bar{a}$ p. 106 f.; \bar{a} , $fl\bar{a}n$, $r\bar{a}$, $sl\bar{a}n$ may, at least in part, be native, see above p. 102; O. E. $r\bar{a}n$ (102) is no doubt from Scandinavian. Final Scand. h still remained at the introduction of O. E., M. E. poh, see above p. 74, 181.

The combination ht is in some words assimilated to t(t), in some it has remained, see p. 173 ff.

- § 30. Scand. \bar{b} (< Teut. medial \bar{b} , f, Noreen, Altisl. Gr.² § 277) > M. E. v: swaiuen (49), afell (201), evin, efne (209), golven (211), ongrufe (212), haver (213), hevenen (213), hāve (214), lāve (217), neve (217), prave, preve (223), prīven (224); final \bar{b} has become f: golf, hāf, calf (214). Scand. $\bar{b}u$ -> w in awkwart (20 foot-note, 202), cf. craulen (215). Scand. $\bar{b}n$ < mn appears in nevenen (176).
- § 31. Scand. $\eth > M$. E. \eth , see p. 161-167. In some cases it may have been superseded by d p. 159-161. Among these cases addlenn (p. 159) is easily accounted for by English sound-laws. M. E. final - \eth became subsequently -b: M. E. booth, girth.

As for the development of Scand. δ in M. E. nowcin (71), see later on.

§ 32. Scand. z (guttural and palatal) developed like O. E. z (guttural and palatal): hogh (70), windoge (72), fōwcn (89), lāh, lāz (90), azune, awene (110), fahnian, fazenian (111), gazhenn (112), hazherr (112), -liz, -lī (p. 158 foot-note), aze, awe (199), billow (204), deye (62 foot-note, 206), N. E. cow (216), cwīe (216), lozhe, lowe (216), slēh, slēz, slei, slī (219), telwen (222).

Scand. zn < nn is represented by $dr\bar{u}nen$ (158, 176).

Scand. gn > nn (Noreen, Paul's Grundr.² I p. 600) seems to be represented by N. E. dial. angs 'awns of any seed but especially of barley', Prevost Gl. of Cumb., E. D. D. I p. 57.

loan-words from native words, as the spelling $rh\bar{v}f$ is isolated and as all other native words from O. E. words beginning with hr- are spelt with r, e. g. $r\bar{e}m$, $r\bar{e}n$, redden, ringenn.

Scand. st may have become kt on Scand. ground; see p. 20 foot-note.

In some cases Scand. z seems to have been represented by Engl. gg, p. 157, foot-note 2.

Scand. eig has become $\bar{e}g$ in $l\bar{e}ghe$ (61), eig > ey, ay in lai (62 foot-note), deye (206), eigi > ey in sweyen (59).

Scand. auz has become oz : hogh, windoze above.

§ 33. Scand. m > M. E. m: e. g. aimers (42), wheym (45), $s\bar{o}m$ (72), $n\bar{a}m$ (83), $m\bar{a}l$ (103), $m\bar{i}re$ (115), $scr\bar{e}men$ (131), skum (133), mennisk (139), gymbyre (211), $gr\bar{i}m$ (211), heming (213), $m\bar{e}oc$ (217), sum(m) (221).

Scand. mt > M. E. nt in scant (122), skenten (124), Scand. mn has on Scand. ground become t = t = t = t = t. Revenen (176).

§ 34. Scand. n > M. E. n: e. g. nig (34), grein (43), nowcin (71), nowwt (71), gaghenn (112), skinden (127), hepen (163), minne (171), sannen (172), skin (172), ransaken (172), bolnen (205), $b\bar{u}n$ (206), clint (215), $n\bar{v} ding$ (217).

Scand. n was dropped before the introduction of M. E. $fr\bar{a}$ (100), toft (113), O. E. $p\bar{u}r$, $p\bar{o}r$ (180); other cases are to be found above p. 98—100. Concerning $pr\bar{a}$, see above p. 106 f. Scand. n still remained in Anlaf, Onlaf p. 24, 27 (cf. O. W. Scand. Olafr), Inwwr p. 27; cf. Kluge, Paul's Grundr. I p. 937.

- § 35. Scand. v > M. E. v: e. g. anger (200), binge (204), dingen (207), dreng (208), eng (209), heming (213), ling (216), stangen (220), swange (221), weng, wing (225), wrang (225). Scand. vn has become zn in M. E. $dr\bar{u}nen$, cf. § 32.
- § 36. Scand. l > M. E. l: e. g. $m\bar{a}l$ (103), skil (126), gildire (154), blotnen (205), dil (207), elten (208).
- § 37. Scand. r > M. E. r: e. g. reike (48), raipen (48), rezzsenn (49), rowst (72), sowre (72), sker (124), ker (142), bred (168).
- § 38. Scand. i (when not a component of a diphthong), see above p. 183, foot-note.

Scand. \bar{y}_i is represented by M. E. frizzenn (117).

Scand. oyi (> East Scand. $\overline{o}i$) seems to have become $\overline{e}z$ in $d\overline{e}zen$ (66).

Scand. eizi has resulted in M. E. ey in sweyen (59).

§ 39. Scand. w > M. E. w: e. g. wheym (45), quainen (46), cweise (46), swein (49), swaiven (49), wazz (50), weik (52), waith (52), sweyen (59), wisk (239).

Scand. loss of w has taken place in $f\bar{a}$ (102), stra (103), epenn, lezztenn, lipsen, lit, liten, oker, $\bar{o}\bar{\sigma}$ p. 178 f., possibly in $pr\bar{a}$ 106 f.

4.

Some special cases and additional remarks.

M. E. aze, awe (p. 30 foot-note, 199). When I gave this word as a loan-word, I based the test of its being so largely on the difference as to prehistoric suffixes (-os-, -es-) which is to be found in M. E. aze and O. E. eze. Luick, in his criticism of Part I of my treatise (Archiv CVII p. 413), judges my opinion of awe with the following words: "Und doch hat Björkman nur aufgenommen, was sich durch lautliche Kriterien feststellen lässt. Er geht sogar so weit, me. aze, awe (zu an. agi gegenüber ae. eze) auszuschliessen, weil in der Verschiedenheit der altnordischen und altenglischen Form sich keine lautliche Differenzierung kundgiebt, sondern weil sie bloss dem Umstand zu danken ist, dass die Verallgemeinerung einer von zwei ursprünglich im Wechsel stehenden Formen (azes-, azas-, vgl. Sievers § 288) nach verschiedenen Richtungen erfolgt ist, und somit auch im Altenglischen eine Form ohne Umlaut bestanden haben kann. Dabei übersieht er, dass nach englischen Lautgesetzen diese umlautslose Form ac. *ez lauten müsste (vgl. ae. sæl neben sele) und dessen mittelenglisches Ergebnis nur *ei, *ai sein könnte. Me. awe ist somit auch durch lautliche Kriterien als Lehnwort zu erweisen und wäre besser aufzunehmen gewesen". All this would decidedly be correct, if O. W. Scand. agi, O. Swed. aghe, Dan. ave were to be derived directly from a base *azas-. But Luick, as well as myself, has overlooked that the Scand. words are inflected like n-stems; the equivalent O. E. form would therefore have been *aza which would also have given M. E. aze, awe, N. E. awe. 1)

O. E. Apulf (above p. 25) is not from a supposed Old Scandinavian name considered to be the source of Swed. Adolf. This Swed. name is of German origin, see Festschrift für Wendelin Foerster p. 308. There is only one possibility of deriving O. E. Apulf from Scandinavian: O. W. Scand. Alfr, Qlfr, O. Swed. Aulfr seems to be from an earlier *Adwulf (see Noreen, Altisl. Gr. § 179, Altschwed. Gr. § 244, 5), and if d had not been dropped in this position at the times of the Danelag, O. E. Adulf may be from the prehistoric Scand. form in question.

N. E. dial. beace (p. 99). See Luick, Archiv CVII p. 417. M. E. bein (above p. 40). The Swed. dial. words are ben adj. 'direct, straight', bent adv., Rietz (not ben adv.).

M. E. bloute (p. 69) ought to have been given also p. 195, as its native equivalent is O. E. bleat.

O. E. brādpanne (p. 89) is to be found in the Corpus Glosses No. 407, cf. Förster, Beibl. zur Anglia XI p. 242.

O. E. broddian (above p. 168 foot-note) is to be found in the Aldhelm Glosses (ZfdA. IX p. 935); cf. Förster, Beibl. zur Anglia XI p. 242.

M. E. biir, bir (above p. 204). Cf. O. E. ambyre (< and-byre) 'favourable wind'.

N. E. dawn (above p. 261). Although the n is doubtless deduced from dawning, the process by which M. E. dawen became N. E. dawn may have been facilitated by the productiveness of the n-suffix in verbs; cf. above p. 15.

M. E. ded, M. Sc. deid, N. E. dial. dead 'death' (above p. 161, foot-note 1) is probably due to a dialectal change of p > d. Cf. the northern and Scotch form yird, yeird, eard 'earth', N. E. D. s. v. earth.

M. E. fiken (above p. 145). N. E. fitch 'to move by slow succussations from one place to another' (N. E. D.) seems to be a by-form of fike and may render the native origin of the latter probable.

¹⁾ Whether the n-inflection of the Scand. words was original or due to some sort of Entgleisung from an original -os-, -es-inflection, is difficult to decide. Cf. Gothic unagei f. 'furchtlosigkeit', O. H. G. agî, akî f.

M. E. garn (above p. 150). Add N. E. dial. garn.

M. E. gauren (p. 189). Another etymology has been given by Skeat, Trans. Phil. Soc. 1901 p. 31, who refers it to Norw. dial. gagra 'to stand with one's neck straight and with one's chin in the air'.

M. E. gere (p. 151). If gæress in the Orrmulum be an identical word with M. E. gere, its derivation must be looked upon as dubious. Cf. Kluge, Anglia XXIV p. 309 f.

O. E. zescēot 'quick, ready' (above p. 126) occurs in Ben. R.; cf. Förster, Beibl. zur Anglia XI p. 242.

M. E. gilde (p. 154). Skeat, Trans. Phil. Soc. 1901 p. 18 f., is of opinion that the initial spirant of the corresponding O. E. word was diverted into hard g by Norman or Latin influence. Against this I may be allowed to observe that the guilds — in the characteristic forms known to us — seem to have originated among the Scandinavians in England. I refer to A. Bugge's treatise De Norske Byers Selvstyre og Handel p. 75—107. — Also many other cases of O. E. g' regarded by Skeat, in the same connexion, to have become M. E. g owing to Norman or Latin influence are in my opinion due to Scand. influence.

N. E. dial. gime 'a vast opening': O. W. Scand. gima, Swed. dial. gima. This word ought to have been given above p. 154. It proves that the O. W. Scand. form was gima, not gima as given by Fritzner.

N. E. girth I have explained (p. 151) as due to a contamination of M. E. gerth and M. E. gird. This explanation has been accepted by Köppel, Archiv CVI p. 35. Still there is another possibility. Swed., Dan. gjord 'girth' is ambiguous as to its ground-form as it may be either from a base *gerðo or from *gurði- (= 0. E. gyrd). The latter would have became 0. East Scand. *gyrð (> Swed., Dan. giord, as E. Scand. y became often iu, io before $r\eth$, Noreen, Paul's Grundr. I p. 593, Altschwed. Gr. § 127, 2), which if introduced into English would have given M. E., N. E. girth.

N. E. gloat (p. 76). See Luick, Archiv CVII p. 418 f.

O. E. Harald, Harold (above p. 26). Its Scand. origin is proved not only by historical facts but also by means of

phonetic considerations, as its native equivalent is *Hereweald*, a name recorded several times before the Scandinavian invasion.

M. E. hapen 'heathen' (p. 45). See Luick, Archiv CVII p. 418.

M. E. cask (above p. 244) may be from carsk. Cf. M. E. hask (< harsk) which occurs in Pr. P. 228, Köppel, Arch. CIV p. 47, N. E. D. s. v. hask.

M. E. cleymous, cleimen, N. E. dial. clame, claim (p. 57). According to Luick, Archiv CVII p. 417 f., we have to start from a M. E. pronunciation with ei, ai.

N. E. lock sb. and vb. (p. 261). The same explanation has been given by Köppel, Archiv CVI p. 33.

M. E. nowcin (p. 71, 180, 303). It is hardly probable that any consonant loss has taken place in this word. It occurs in texts in which Anglo-French spellings of English words are frequent and in which c may be assumed to denote ts; I consequently take nowcin to stand for *nowtsin with $ts < \delta s$.

Orrmin (above p. 21, foot-note 1). -in is doubtless of French origin; cf. Awwstin in the Orrmulum. See references given above p. 187, and Morsbach, Festschrift für Wendelin Foerster p. 314.

O. E. Oðulf (above p. 25) is to be kept apart from Apulf; it is from a Scand. base Auðulfr.

Palliz was the name of a Danish Earl, who played a certain political part during the reign of Æthelred II; see Freeman I p. 336 f. The name ought to have been given above p. 27.

O. E. roda (p. 68 f., 161). See Luick, Archiv CVII p. 414.

O. E. silfor, M. E. sillferr, silver etc. (p. 112 f.). See Luick, Archiv CVII p. 414 f.

N. E. scavenger, which Skeat once held to be originally of English origin but to have passed into Anglo-French and from thence been reintroduced into English (see above p. 5 footnote), has been introduced through French from some Teutonic language of the continent. Cf. Skeat, Notes on English Etymology p. 259. O. Fr. escauwer need not, however, as is supposed by Godefroy and Skeat, be exactly of Flemish origin.

schailen p. 59. The suggestion that it may be connected with Old French eschailler would have been better omitted. Cf. Athenæum No. 3821 p. 77.

- O. E. scor (p. 129 and foot-note) occurs in an O. E. monastery inventory, see Förster, Beibl. zur Anglia XI p. 242.
 - M. E. serk (above p. 147). Cf. N. E. dial. sark.
- M. E. (Lat.) stowres 'stakes' occurs in English rolls of customs and not only in N. E. dialects (above p. 82), see A. Bugge, Studier over de Norske Byers Selvstyre p. 163. The word may, however, have been introduced into English after the Danelag times owing to the mercantile connexions between Scandinavia and England; cf. down above p. 235.
- M. E. pift Metr. Hom. ed. Small 3, 131 (rime-word gift) is derived by Luick, Untersuchungen p. 248 from O. W. Scand. pift, pifo, O. Swed. pypt, as the regular M. E. form is peft. If this be right, the word belongs to the class of loan-words treated of above p. 114 ff.
- M. E., N. E. tight, which I have tried to explain above p. 223, is considered by Much, P. B. B. XVII p. 145, Pogatscher, E. Stud. XXVII p. 271 f. to represent quite a different word from M. E. pizt, thight.
- O. E. wār, wāriz etc. (above p. 106). As for the sense of these words, see also Hoops, Altengl. Pflanzennamen p. 24 f. The development of Teut. arh- in M. E., which I have touched upon in connexion with M. E. wār (p. 105, foot-note 1) and with M. E. arewe (p. 227 f.), has been subsequently treated of in detail by Köppel, Arch. CIV p. 31 f.

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H. Finnish.

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List of Abbreviations.

As those abbreviations which refer to M. E. texts are, as a rule, those employed in Stratmann-Bradley's Dictionary, I give here only a selection of the same.

Aasen = Norsk Ordbog med dansk Forklaring af Ivar Aasen, Christiania 1873.

adj. = adjective.

adv. - adverb.

Alex (Sk.) = The Wars of Alexander, edited by W. W. Skeat, E. E. T. S., No. XLVII, 1866.

Ant. Arth. = The Awntyrs of Arthure.

Anz. = Anzeiger.

Arch. = Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen.

B. B. = The Babees Book etc., edited by F. J. Furnivall, E. E. T. S., No. 32, 1868.

Brks. = Berkshire.

Cath. Angl. — Catholicon Anglicum, edited by S. J. Herrtage, E. E. T. S., No. 75, 1881.

Cent. D. - The Century Dictionary.

Ch. = Chaucer.

C. M. = Cursor Mundi, edited by R. Morris, E. E. T. S., Nos. 57, 59, 62, 68, 1874—78.

cf. = confer, f. e. compare.

Chs. = Cheshire.

Cum. - Cumberland.

Dan. = Danish.

D. Arth. = Morte Arthure; or the Death of Arthur, edited by Edmund Brock, E. E. T. S., No. 8, 1871.

Der. = Derbyshire.

Dev. - Devonshire.

dial. = dialect, -al.

Dur. = **D**urham.

Durh. B. = "Lindisfarne Gospels" or "Durham Book".

Durh. Rit. = Rituale Ecclesiæ Dunulmensis, Surtees Soc., No. 10, 1839.

E. E. D. = The English Dialect Dictionary, edited by Joseph Wright, Oxford 1896 ff.

F

E. E. Ps. = Anglo-Saxon and Early English Psalter, edited by T. Stevenson, Surtees Soc., Nos. XVI, XIX, 1843—47.

E. E. T. S. = Early English Text Society.

E. Scand. = East Scandinavian.

E. St. = Englische Studien.

Fer. = Sir Ferumbras, edited by S. J. Herrtage, E. E. T. S., No. XXXIV, 1879.

Fr. = French.

Gaw. = Sir Gawayne and the Green Knight, edited by R. Morris, E. E. T. S., No. 4, 1864.

Gen. and Ex. = The Story of Genesis and Exodus, edited by R. Morris, E. E. T. S., No. 7, 1865.

Glo. = Gloucestershire.

Goth. = Gothic.

Hamp. - Hampole.

Hmp. = Hampshire.

Hav. = Havelok.

H. E. S. = History of English Sounds.

H. M. = Hali Meidenhad, edited by O. Cockayne, E. E. T. S., No. 18, 1866.

Hoccl. = Poems by Thos. Hoccleve, London 1706.

inf. = infinitive mood.

K. Alis. = King Alisaunder, in Weber's Metrical Romances, Edinburgh 1810, vol. I, p. 3-327.

Kent. = Kentish.

K. Z. = Kuhns Zeitschrift.

Lanc. = Lancashire.

L. G. = Low German.

Lin., Lincsh. = Lincolnshire.

Luick, Unters. = Untersuchungen zur englischen Laufgeschichte, von Karl Luick, Strassburg 1896.

Man. (F.) = Robert Manning's History of England, edited by F. J. Furnivall, Rolls Series, London 1887.

Man. Voc. = Levins' Manipulus Vocabulorum, a riming Dictionary, 1570, edited by H. B. Wheatly, E. E. T. S., No. XXVII, 1867.

M. Arth. = Le Morte Arthur, edited by F. J. Furnivall, London 1864.

M. E. = Middle English.

M. H. G. = Middle High German.

Misc. = An Old English Miscellany, edited by R. Morris, E. E. T. S., No. 49, 1872.

M. L. G. = Middle Low German.

MS. = Manuscript.

N. D. = New Danish.

N. E. = New English.

N. E. D. = The New English Dictionary.

neut. = neuter.

Nhb. = Northumberland.

N. H. G. = New High German.

Norf. = Norfolk.

North. = Northumbrian.

Norw. = Norwegian.

obs. = obsolete.

O. D. = Old Danish.

O. E. = Old English.

0. Fr. = Old French.

O. H. G. = Old High German.

Ordb. = Ordbok, Ordbog.

O. Sax. = Old Saxon.

O. Scand. = Old Scandinavian; used either as a general term for Old W. Scand. and East Scand. or to denote some of the Old. Scand. languages.

0. Swed. = Old Swedish.

O. W. Scand. = Old West Scandinavian.

Palsgr. = Palsgrave.

Pem. = Pembroke.

Paul's Grundr. = Grundriss der germanischen Philologie, herausgeg. von Herm. Paul.

P. B. B. = Paul und Braune, Beiträge zur Gesch. der deutschen Sprache und Literatur.

Perc. = The Romance of Sir Perceval of Galles, edited by J. O. Halliwell, Camden Soc., No. XXX, 1844.

pple, partic. = participle.

Pr. P. = Promptorium Parvulorum.

P. S. = The Political Songs of England, from the reign of John to that of Edward II, edited by T. Wright, Camden Soc., No. VI, 1839.

Ross = Norsk ordbog af Hans Ross, Christiania 1895.

sb. = substantive.

Sc. = Scotland.

Scand. = Scandinavian.

s. v. = sub verbo, i. e. under the word.

Swed. = Swedish.

Swed. dial. = Swedish dialects.

Teut. = Teutonic.

vb. = verb.

Wall = A contribution towards the study of the Scandinavian element. in the English dialects, Anglia XX, p. 45 ff.

Wb. = Wörterbuch.

Wm. = Westmoreland.

Wr. Voc. = Anglo-Saxon and Old English Vocabularies by Thomas Wright, Second Edition, edited and collated by Richard Paul Wülcker, Landon 1884.

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W. S. = West Saxon.

Yksh. = Yorkshire.

Errata.

```
Page
       V, l. 3 (fr. bot.), read: acknowledge.
       17, foot-note 2, l. 4, read: Sanskr.
       19, l. 3, read: *prăhilar.
       20, foot note, l. 3, insert comma after explanation.
       34, l. 18, read: nig and hard.
       35, l. 10 (fr bot.), read: styggiask við.
       43, l. 16, read: 6537.
       47, l. 12, read: E. dial.
       49, l. 5 (fr. bot.), read: A. P. III 353.
       64, l. 9 (fr. bot.), read: Kaluza's.
       67, l. 10 (fr. bot.), read: N. E. dial. baste.
       71, foot-note, l. 7, read: Norowic.
       79, l. 15, introduce full stop after other.
       84, l. 11 (fr. bot.), read: w \alpha p(e) n.
       89, l. 14 (fr. bot.), read: M. E. grā, grō.
       90, l. 10 (fr. bot.), read: M. E. her.
       91, l. 12 (fr. bot.), read: O. E. lætan.
       92, l. 1, read: M. E. red, reden.
       94, l. 5, read: M. E. wābe, wobe.
       99, l. 14, read: *hāh.
      100, foot-note 1, read: Brate l. c. p. 53.
      103, l. 16, read: mæbl.
      103, l. 14 (fr. bot.), read: māldæz.
      109, l. 15, read: cwedan ia wid.
      147, l. 2, read: O. Swed. sækker.
      176, l. 6, erase comma after English.
      181, foot-note 2, read: is erroneous.
      182, foot-note 1, l. 3, read threshold.
      183, foot-note 1, l. 2 (fr. bot.), read: M. E. hergien.
      191, l. 4 (fr. bot.), read: 162.
      195, l. 7 (fr. bot.), col. 2, read: hælan.
      196, l. 1, col. 2, read: ræran.
      196, l. 6 (fr. bot.), col. 1, read: O. E. Oden: O. E. Woden.
```

202, L 9, read: avukt-tvert.

```
Page 202, l. 20 (fr. bot.), read: N. E. -by.
      203, l. 18, read: whereupon.
      204, l. 10, read: favourable.
      205, l. 13, insert: Dan. bulexe.
      205, l. 14, read: etc.: O. W.
      205, l. 2 (fr. bot.), read: Tidsskrift.
      206, l. 2, read: Dan.
      206, l. 7, read: Indo-Germanic.
      210, l. 14 (fr. bot.), read: 'blamelessly'.
      215, l. 3, read: existence.
      216, l. 5 (fr. bot.), read: O. W. Scand.
      223, l. 4, read: see p. 167.
      228, l. 19, read: N. E. dial.
      240, l. 10, read: 'gesetzmässig'.
      210, l. 13 (fr. bot), read: M. E. gasen.
      241, l. 41 (fr. bot.), read: forrgloppnedd.
      242, l. 11 (fr. bot.), read: ham(p)n, O. Dan.
     243, l. 14, read: unnhilenn.
      244, l. 10 (fr. bot.), read: Swed. dial.
      251, l. 20 (fr. bot.), read: Scand. raptr.
      252, l. 6, read: rests.
      256, l. 1, read: O. W. Scand. taparex.
      260, l. 15 (fr. bot.), read: of blunda.
      268, l. 2, read: conquest. In.
      268, L. 7, read: country.1) Next.
      268, l. 13 (fr. bot.), read: invaders.<sup>9</sup>) This.
      268, l. 10 (fr. bot.), read: Anlaf*) and Swegen*).
```

268, l. 5 (g. bot.), read: murdering.⁵)
281, l. 9 (g. bot.), erase comma after Upsala.

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